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JOHN ROLPH—A RELUCTANT REBEL*

By John Muggeridge

"Throughout the entire length and breadth of Canadian biography there is no man of equal eminence respecting whose individuality so little is known."[1] Thus wrote John Rolph's biographer in 1885. To a large extent his words remain true today. Rolph is one of those shadowy, enigmatic characters about whom historians are seldom able to make up their minds. The early stages of his career are surrounded in uncertainty, which he himself has done nothing to dispel. He has left behind no published reminiscences, no story of his life. Moreover, with regard to the important questions of how far and in what way he was involved in the Rebellion of 1837, he chose to remain silent, rather than, like Mackenzie, to explain and justify his conduct. Only once did he refer in public to the most controversial episode in his entire career. In October of 1852 W. H. Boulton accused Rolph openly from the floor of the Legislative Assembly of treachery. He referred to the part Rolph had played in carrying a flag of truce to the rebels at Gallows' Hill on December 5th, 1837. Boulton claimed that Rolph, having accepted "the most confidential and honorable position that could be assigned to man by the hands of the representative of his sovereign, to bear a flag of truce to a number of deluded people," instead of suggesting peace "had recommended fire and slaughter to his fellow citizens and then skulked from the country, leaving his victims to ruin and misery."[2] In the face of these serious charges Rolph appealed to the testimony of Robert Baldwin, and mentioned a written statement in his possession by Hugh Carmichael, who had carried the flag of truce. But this assertion of innocence left many doubtful and unconvinced. A contemporary journalist remarked: "If Doctor Rolph went out as a mediator and recommended war, he behaved worse than the worst man who took part in the events of that period; and if he has denied the facts of the matter, he is no better now than he was then."[3]

According to John Charles Dent, Rolph was by nature reticent. Having described his effective and powerful style of oratory and his striking personal appearance, Dent writes: "There was about him no such thing as self-abandonment . . . . The quality of caution seems to have been preter-

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* This paper, which the author read at the Society's Annual Meeting in Peterborough on June 20, 1959, was prepared while he was a student in the seminar course on The Ontario Community Before Confederation offered by Professor Maurice Careless in the Department of History, the University of Toronto.

1. Dent, J. C., *The Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion* (Toronto, 1885), I, 106.
2. Typed memorandum defending a charge made by William Boulton and W. L. Mackenzie with reference to the "flag of truce" incident, in *The Mackenzie Papers*, Ontario Archives.
3. *The Globe* of November 9, 1852 gives a full account of the exchange between Rolph and Boulton.

naturally developed within his breast."[4] Rolph died on October 18th, 1870. The writer of his obituary evidently found himself confronted with a difficult assignment. "I can do little more," he admits, "than call memory to service in penning this imperfect sketch of his life." The notice continues in the following ambiguous fashion: "We believe that he was born in Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England. His exact age we do not know but we believe that he had passed his 80th year . . . . His political life can only be regarded as a fragment which has many attractive features."[5]

This 'fragment' has decided attractions for the historian. Rolph entered active politics in 1824, and did not retire from public life until 1857. The period from December of 1837 until the summer of 1843 he spent in exile in the United States. Thus he remained a prominent actor on the Canadian political scene for nearly thirty momentous years. He lived through the War of 1812, shared in the excitement caused by Robert Gourlay's whirlwind descent upon Upper Canada in 1818,[6] took an important, if equivocal, part in the events culminating in the Yonge Street Rising, became a leading light in the Clear Grit movement of the early fifties, and was appointed an Executive Councillor for the second time in his life in 1851. His career is of interest if only because it covered a period that was perhaps decisive in the shaping of Canadian institutions of government before Confederation. Moreover, he himself was deeply involved in the politics of his time.

From his first election to the House of Assembly of Upper Canada Rolph took up the position of an advanced reformer. Such commentators as Egerton Ryerson [7] invariably couple his name with Bidwell, Baldwin and Mackenzie. Sir Francis Bond Head described him as "next to Mackenzie, the most wicked of the traitors."[8] This must be considered high praise when it is recalled that Sir Francis thought of Robert Baldwin as "an agent of the revolutionary party."[9] Neither did Rolph escape the attention of Mrs. Jameson. He is, in fact, the only opposition member to receive mention by her. She found him "the cleverest and most eloquent speaker" among the reformers.[10]

The Rolph family emigrated to Upper Canada in 1809 where they settled at Charlotteville in the Talbot District. John's father practiced the profession of medicine. Apparently the family prospered in its new home, and became very popular with both Talbot himself and his settlers. There is a letter among the Talbot Papers,[11] suggesting a marriage between Talbot's brother and John Rolph's sister.

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4. Dent, *op. cit.*, I, 105.
5. *The Daily Leader* (Toronto), October 20, 1870. According to Dent, (*op. cit.*, I, 106) Rolph was born on March 4, 1793, which would make him 77 years of age when he died.
6. See Dent., *op. cit.*, I, 107.
7. Ryerson, E., *The Story of My Life* (Toronto, 1883), 127, 189, 288.
8. Head, Sir F. B., *A Narrative* (Toronto, 1839), 19.
9. Quoted by Dent, *op. cit.*, I, 325.
10. Jameson, Mrs. A., *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (London, 1838), 340.
11. Ermatinger, C. O., *The Talbot Regime* (St. Thomas, 1904), 67.

Some years before the War of 1812 Rolph went back to England where he engaged in legal and medical studies. He returned to Upper Canada after war had been declared. At this time he must have been highly regarded by Talbot, for the latter appointed him paymaster and personal military secretary.[12] In turn, at the beginning of 1817 Rolph was largely instrumental in instituting the Talbot Anniversary to commemorate the famous colonizer's arrival at Port Talbot on May 21st, 1803. It has been suggested that even at this early date Rolph was intent on furthering his political ambitions. By putting himself at the head of a popular movement in the settlement, Rolph is said to have begun "nursing" the constituency he aspired to represent in the House of Assembly.[13] Certainly the scheme found favour among the local settlers and moreover it had the merit of arousing the opposition of Colonel M. Burwell, the sitting member for Middlesex, whom Rolph would have eventually to depose. Burwell objected to the proposed celebration on the grounds that it tended towards the over-adulation of Talbot. "The yeomanry of the country," he wrote in an open letter to the secretary of the Anniversary Committee (i.e. Rolph) "should never do anything that the observing world would be obliged to call prostitution to flattery."[14] The first meeting in honour of the anniversary was almost exclusively concerned with complaints against Burwell. Four resolutions were passed, one of which stated that "It is the opinion of this meeting that Lieutenant Colonel Burwell's letter to the secretary is written in the most disrespectful manner. . . . It is the unanimous wish of this meeting to prevent the anniversary from any further becoming the vehicle of calumny or party intrigue . . . "[15] Rolph may, or may not, at this time have had his eye on a future career in politics. But nevertheless, it remains true that the Talbot Anniversary was instituted as a result of popular demand guided and expressed by John Rolph. In making himself a mouthpiece of the people he was already displaying a leaning towards, and an aptitude for, democratic politics.

A further attempt to gain favour with the electors of Middlesex is seen in Rolph's suggestion that he and Doctor Charles Duncombe should set up a medical school at St. Thomas. In a letter to Talbot outlining the scheme Rolph is perhaps too intent on denying political motives: "I hope you are sufficiently acquainted with the state of public feeling, to be satisfied of my engaging in nothing with the mere view of conciliating the further favour of your settlers."[16]

Significantly, however, Rolph suggests election time as a suitable moment for initiating the project: "During the concourse of the election under your patronage and the conjunction of all the candidates, it is thought we can commence with advantage, give an impulse to public feel-

12. *Ibid.*, 334.
13. *Ibid.*, 111.
14. *Ibid.*, 354.
15. *Ibid.*, 355.
16. *Ibid.*, 348.

ing on the subject and receive annual subscriptions as a bushel of produce."[17] In due course a notice advertising the school appeared in the *Colonial Advocate* of August 19th, 1824: "John Rolph is expected to give the first course of lectures and demonstrations during the ensuing season on the Anatomy and Physiology of the Human Body." [19]

By this time Rolph had been truly launched upon his political career, for in the elections of 1824 he was returned to the Legislative Assembly as a reformer, together with Captain John Matthews, for the county of Middlesex. On July 22nd, 1824 the *Colonial Advocate* acclaimed the result: "The Triumph of Independence in Middlesex is complete. Mr. Rolph and Captain Mathews have been returned by a large majority." The victory created considerable local excitement, the two winning candidates being escorted from the polls "by as gallant, as numerous and independent a troop of honest, honourable and loyal men as perhaps ever trotted that distance together."[19] In his acceptance speech "Mr. Rolph promised to act with independence and to defend the people's rights."[20] It appears that he was quite carried away by his own eloquence and the drama of the occasion, for "getting warm, he forgot that he was at a County Election and commenced a sentence in his professional way, 'Gentlemen of the Jury.' He however, quickly recollected himself."[21]

Judging by the columns of contemporary newspapers, Rolph made himself felt in the House of Assembly from his first appearance there. Reform was at this time in the ascendant, and for the first time those who actually opposed government policy and institutions came close to commanding a majority in the Lower House. Rolph found numerous opportunities for displaying his oratorical gifts, as for example in January of 1825 when he spoke at length against a "Bill for allowing Religious Societies of all Denominations to hold land."[22] At this time he was categorically against any official endowment of religious bodies, his views being reported as follows: "Mr. Rolph was favourable to toleration, by toleration he meant liberty of conscience, liberty of speech; but not thereby to acquire a wealth dangerous to the state." As for religious denominations, "I would tolerate them to teach; I would tolerate them to preach; but I would not arm them with land, as, of one hundred or more sects, all cannot be right."[23] His stand in 1825 was remarkably similar to that which he was to adopt when the Clergy Reserves were under debate in the following decade.

During the same session Rolph was accused of a want of diffidence, a modest silence apparently being expected of new members. Rolph answered

17. *Ibid.*, 349.
18. *Idem.*
19. *Colonial Advocate*, July 29, 1834.
20. *Idem.*
21. *Idem.* In 1821 Rolph was admitted to the Bar of Upper Canada and from that time, like his contemporary W. W. Baldwin, he practised both the legal and the medical professions.
22. *Colonial Advocate*, January 27, 1825.
23. *Idem.*

his critics defiantly: "I can assure the House; I can assure the country, that no undue diffidence will prevent me from speaking my opinion from this floor."[24] He was as good as his word, taking the lead in agitating for all the important measures of reform which were then being discussed. He must have expressed himself with more than usual force upon the Alien Rights question. One of his speeches on this subject called forth the comment from Jonas Jones that "Mr. Rolph's language is foul, infamous and scandalous; he has a vile and democratic heart and ought to be sent out of the country."[25]

In December 1826 Rolph took up the case of Captain John Matthews, his fellow member from Middlesex. The Captain, perhaps the worse for wear at the time, had called upon a visiting American theatre orchestra to render "Yankee Doodle" and had been observed to remove his hat and applaud. (According to Dent, "Hail Columbia" was also called for, but the orchestra was unable to play that tune). The local authorities accused Matthews of conduct "utterly disloyal and disgraceful," and ordered him to proceed without delay to Quebec and England in order to explain his behaviour before the proper authorities. The upshot was that Matthews lost his pension.[26]

When Matthews appealed to the Legislative Assembly for a leave of absence and was refused, it was Rolph who proposed an investigation into the whole affair. The ensuing report shows clear traces of Rolph's literary style, which even for those days was torturous and long-winded. The final sentence reads in part: "If every effervescence of feeling upon every jovial or innocent occasion is, in these provinces, to be magnified into crime by the testimony of secret informers—if there can longer exist a political inquisition which shall scan the motives of every faithful servant of the public—if the authorities in Canada shall humble the independence of the legislature by scandalizing its members . . . or if the members of our community shall be awed into political subserviency by fear of oppression, or lured by the corrupt hope of participating in guilty favours, then indeed will the prospect before us lour, and this fine province become a distant appendage of a mighty empire ruled by a few aspiring men with the scourge of power."[27]

Again in 1828 Rolph and his friends enthusiastically espoused the cause of a certain William Forsythe, whose land was forcibly commandeered by Captain George Philpotts of the Royal Engineers. The history of this case is long and involved, and Forsythe himself does not come out of it in a particularly favourable light. Under Rolph's chairmanship a committee was set up to investigate what the *Colonial Advocate* described as "Outrage at the Niagara Falls Pavilion."[28]

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24. *Ibid.,* February 3, 1825.
25. *Ibid.,* January 12, 1826.
26. Dent., *op. cit.,* II, Chapter 6.
27. Mackenzie, W. L., *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London, 1833), 419-20.
28. *Colonial Advocate,* April 3, 1828.

Rolph also became involved in the Willis affair. John Willis took up his appointment as a judge of the Court of King's Bench for Upper Canada late in 1827 and from the outset aroused the dislike of the official party by his overbearing and tactless nature. Certainly he committed a number of social 'gaffes' which did not endear either him or his wife to the 'high society' of York. So, for various reasons he was led to find friends among the reformers who hailed him as a champion of their cause. Willis's decisions in the case of Francis Collins, an editor sued for libel by John Beverley Robinson, turned the hostility of the official class fully against himself. As for Rolph, he consistently supported Willis and on several occasions appeared for Collins, while Lieutenant-Governor Maitland complained to the Colonial Secretary about the association of Willis with "a party . . . who are not very respectable in any sense" and his "making his proceedings . . . the prominent subject of political discussion and the pretence for attacks from the vilest quarters."[29] Willis's dismissal came about after he had declared the Court of King's Bench to be illegally constituted since one of its members was absent on leave. Rolph joined the Baldwins in upholding Willis, throwing off his gown and refusing to do business in an illegal court. Later, in 1832, he was to transfer his legal practice to his brother and set up as a medical practitioner in York.

From the early 1830's Upper Canadian reform politics took a radical turn. William Lyon Mackenzie and his growing following were beginning to express impatience with the more moderate views held by such men as Rolph, Bidwell and the Baldwins. Rolph reveals his feelings towards this new radical spirit in a characteristically guarded letter in which he refuses to attend a "General Convention of Delegates elected by the Freeholders of the Metropolitan District in Upper Canada, to nominate suitable candidates for the approaching general election." After affirming his support of the demands for reform, he writes: "I shall not, however, conceal my apprehension that these movements on the part of the people may be merely the transient ebullition of feelings temporarily excited by the injuries lately inflicted upon their civil and religious liberties throughout the country, and that they may not be grounded on rational and settled principles. It is a vain thing to indulge in the loudest outcries against the administration of public affairs, when the evil, by whatever epithets it may be denounced, can be traced to the hustlings."[30] In the general election that followed Rolph was defeated by his old antagonist, Colonel Burwell.

In the early 1830's Rolph was undecided where to place his political allegiance. Mackenzie was at this time becoming more and more violent in his denunciations of the government. In any case Rolph did not have to make a firm decision publicly one way or the other because he no longer voted in the Assembly. Even before Mackenzie published Joseph Hume's letter to him, Rolph appears to have veered away from the extreme radical

29. Dent, *op. cit.*, I, 183.
30. *Colonial Advocate,* March 12, 1834.

position. Early in 1834 the first truly independent municipal institution in Upper Canada was set up when the town of York became the city of Toronto. Rolph stood for election as an alderman and was considered a likely candidate for the mayoralty. The *Colonial Advocate* contains the following report of his election: "In St. Patrick's Ward we are told that all the tory clique voted for Mr. Rolph, but against the other liberal candidate."[31] Moreover, when Rolph heard that certain of the reformers sought to make Mackenzie mayor, he resigned as alderman. According to the *Colonial Advocate*, when the council came to choose a mayor, "The minority did not propose any other candidate (Mackenzie having been already nominated) —they would have preferred Dr. Rolph to Mr. Mackenzie, but that gentleman had withdrawn himself altogether from the Corporation."[32]

Rolph returned to public life in February, 1836, when he accepted Sir Francis Bond Head's invitation to join the Executive Council. Robert Baldwin described the events which led to his acceptance of membership in the Council in a letter read to the House of Assembly on March 16th. At first he had refused to join the executive because his view of the constitution of the province differed so widely from that of the Lieutenant-Governor. Sir Francis Bond Head would not agree with Baldwin's opinion that responsible cabinet government was the only possible cure for the ills besetting Upper Canadian society. However he agreed to discuss the matter with his father, Rolph and M. S. Bidwell. If he was to join the council, he insisted on Rolph being also a member, for he considered "the assistance of Dr. Rolph . . . as . . . . absolutely necessary to ensure public confidence in His Excellency's government." It was Rolph who finally persuaded Baldwin to overcome his scruples, and accept Sir Francis's offer. Rolph pressed upon Baldwin "that as the principle of responsibility, though long before the public, had never yet been acted upon, and that taking for granted . . . . this His Excellency, although mistaken in his views of the Constitution . . . might yet be desirous of governing according to that Constitution . . . it would perhaps not be performing our duty . . . were we, after his having gone thus far to meet our views, peremptorily to refuse all concession on our part."[33] As is well known Sir Francis had no concessions in mind.

The Executive Council resigned in a body on March 14th. Their action met with approval among men of all political beliefs. On the day the resignations were announced a motion was tabled in the House of Assembly approving their stand and in a House with a bare reform majority it carried by a vote of 53 to 2.

Rolph's popularity among both reformers and government supporters seems to have been as wide as ever during the election of 1836 which saw him standing as a candidate for the County of Norfolk. Not only was he one of the very few reformers to be returned, but, according to the *Corres-*

31. *Ibid.*, April 3, 1834.
32. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1834.
33. *Correspondent and Advocate,* March 21, 1836.

pondent and Advocate, he obtained the largest majority of any candidate in the province "tho' he neither attended the hustings, nor canvassed a single freeholder."[34]

But the election left the reformers in the position of a powerless minority. Bidwell, Perry and Lount all lost their seats and in the Second Riding of York Mackenzie himself was defeated by a man of no political standing. The eighteen surviving reform members must have assembled at Toronto for the first session of the new Parliament in 1836 in a chastened frame of mind. Doctor Duncombe returned from England in the spring, having failed to arouse the Colonial Office over certain charges of electoral corruption on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor. Duncombe's indictments were merely referred back to the colonial legislature, a procedure reformers themselves had welcomed in the past. In a speech calling for the House not to dismiss the charges out of hand, Rolph took an angry, even defiant line. Referring to the existing state of affairs in Upper Canada, he said: "Canadians must nerve themselves with a fervent patriotism and a Christian spirit to devise by all constitutional means redress for the past, and salvation for the future .... Salvation can only be expected from the subversion of such a system from its foundations."[35] Rolph reminded the Tories of their own reaction "when Earl Ripon shook them and their 'bread and butter' into impending annihilation": "What was your outcry against 'the baneful domination of the mother country,' when its scourge fell deservedly upon yourselves?" He recalled how they themselves not so long before had threatened to "cast about in their mind's eye for some NEW STATE OF POLITICAL EXISTENCE."[36]

At this time, however, Rolph still placed his emphasis on constitutional means. When he touched on the subject of what action should be pursued in the event of the failure of such means, he spoke in far more general and less explicit terms than Mackenzie. His appeal was to sentiment and patriotism, rather than to the spirit of revolution: "Harden not yourselves against sensibility to wrongs which you cannot but know, and infractions of public liberty which you must be more or less than men not poignantly to feel. —*Our Country* is a call which has not altogether lost its charm. Disembark from a boat floating on corrupted waters; and here on solid ground let us retrieve the past and erect a noble emblem for the future."[37]

In the same session Rolph once more took up the subject of Church and State, ignoring the exigencies of practical politics by devoting his attention to wider social and moral issues: "What then are Kings and Governments to do for Christianity? let them conduct the affairs of the people

34. *Ibid.,* July 6, 1836.
35. *The speech of the Hon. John Rolph, M.P.P., delivered on the occasion of the late inquiry into charges of High Misdemeanors at the late elections, preferred against Sir Francis Bond Head before the Commons' House of Assembly of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1837), 17.
36. *Ibid.,* 37.
37. *Ibid.,* 38.

in such a manner as will yield the greatest degree of general intelligence and prosperity, faithfully extending equal religious and civil rights to all. Truth and error will then, politically speaking, be put upon their respective resources; and there can be as little fear that the former will not prevail over the latter, as that God will not prevail over Mammon."[38]

However, Rolph could not go on for ever expatiating on the need of "equal religious and civil rights to all," and the desirability of enriching "The corroborative testimonies in favour of divine truth." God might prevail over Mammon, but how were the reformers to prevail over the tories, entrenched as they were behind a governor wielding arbitrary, prerogative power, and commanding a complaisant majority in the Assembly? During the King's illness early in the summer of 1837, the government reinsured its position in the House of Assembly by putting through a bill designed to avoid the necessity of calling a general election in the event of the monarch dying. There seemed little hope left for the liberal cause in Upper Canada.

On July 31st at a meeting in Elliott's Tavern in Toronto, the reformers adopted a Declaration which set forth certain justifications for rebellion, and called for the appointment of "a permanent Committee of Vigilance." Sympathy was expressed with the Patriots of Lower Canada. Also it was arranged to hold a Convention of delegates from all over the province in Toronto. Mackenzie was to act as "Agent and Corresponding Secretary." Rolph and Bidwell were named to the Convention. Neither of them was present at the meeting. Bidwell later wrote to all the Toronto newspapers publicly declining the role which had been assigned to him.

Doubt exists as to whether Rolph drafted the declaration; Lindsey asserts that he did, Dent that he did not.[39] Rolph may not have been the author of the Declaration; on the other hand he made no effort to disassociate himself publicly from its signatories, as had Bidwell. He was absent from the meeting, and yet tacitly supported the stand taken by those who had been present. He neither signed the Declaration, nor denied its validity. Such ambivalence was to characterize most of Rolph's conduct during the rebellion and in the months that followed.

Rolph has been accused of being among those who instigated the rebellion.[40] According to this view the project was first conceived at a secret 'caucus' of twelve reformers held in Toronto early in November, at which Rolph was appointed sole Executive, and undertook the management of affairs. It seems doubtful whether Rolph, whose most striking quality was prudence, would have so closely committed himself to an illegal enterprise which was by no means guaranteed of success. More-

38. *Speeches of Dr. John Rolph and Christop'r A. Hagerman Esq. . . . On the Bill for appropriating the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves to the purpose of General Education* (Toronto, 1837), 17.

39. See Lindsey, C., *The Life and Times of William Lyon Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1863), II, 17; and Dent, *op. cit.*, I, 364.

40. By Lindsey and W. L. Mackenzie, the latter in *Mackenzie's Own Narrative of the Late Rebellion* (Toronto, 1838).

over, the witnesses at Dr. Morrison's trial unanimously denied that such a meeting had taken place, one of them going so far as to assert that it was "a mad freak of Mackenzie's imagination."[41]

Convincing proof has been put forward that the idea of rebellion did not originate with Rolph. According to this view the coup was planned by Mackenzie and others. These succeeded in obtaining Rolph's approval of it on three conditions; first that it had sufficient support in the country, secondly that the rising itself should be directed by someone with military experience, and thirdly that he, Rolph, should remain in the background until the rebels had gained their objective. Rolph was to assume the responsibility of forming a provisional government after the existing regime had been overthrown.[42]

Rolph's guarded attitude to the Rebellion can in part be attributed to his personal circumstances. Rolph was an intellectual reformer. He did not himself suffer from the wrongs which he complained about. He was, in fact, a beneficiary under the regime which ruled Upper Canada at that time. He received official recognition for his professional services, and was appointed to a number of medical boards and other government organizations.[43] Colborne had put forward his name to the Colonial Office as a suitable candidate for the position of head of a proposed school of medicine.[44]

Moreover, he was a popular figure among all sections of society. The tories were willing to give him their support, in spite of his well-known political views, at the first municipal elections held in Toronto. The *Patriot*,[45] reporting his flight to the United States after the failure of the revolt, expressed horrified surprise that one of his reputation should have been found associating with such villains as Mackenzie and his fellows.

Rolph had a great deal to lose in the event of the revolution failing. Thus he was extremely reluctant to implicate himself in the early stages of the movement before its success was assured. He waited in Toronto, and later in Rochester, following the changing fortunes of the rebel forces. When victory seemed imminent, he was most active in giving them aid and advice. As hope receded he stood further and further aloof from them. Finally, when defeat became inevitable, he made as clean a break as possible.[46]

Rolph entered the revolution with clearly stated reservations. He remained in a particularly vulnerable position at Toronto, the centre of the

41. *Trial of Dr. Morrison, M.P.P., for High Treason, at Toronto, Wednesday, April 24th, 1838,* (Toronto, 1838).
42. Dent, *op. cit.,* II, 10-14.
43. See J. W. Barnett's "Silas Fletcher, Instigator of the Upper Canadian Rebellion" (*Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records,* XLI (1949), 7-35). Even Mackenzie received printing contracts from the government.
44. Dent, *op. cit.,* I, 266.
45. *The Patriot,* December 10, 1837.
46. When in July, 1840, Silas Fletcher met Rolph in a Rochester hotel, "he (i. e. Rolph) begged me not to say one word of what had taken place on the other side and appeared to feel bad about it. I said very little to him, tho' displeased at the course he had taken." (Silas Fletcher to W. L. Mackenzie, July 29, 1840—The Mackenzie Papers).

government power. Above all he sought to avoid arousing the slightest suspicion while the contest was in doubt. He seems to have achieved this purpose. By December 6th, he had decided to leave the country while he could. On his way out of Toronto he is said to have encountered Chief Justice Robinson and two of his sons, who were probably on their way to the Lieutenant-Governor's headquarters in the Parliament buildings. According to one authority, "a grave salute was exchanged between them, after which each proceeded on his way." [47]

Rolph changed the day of the attack upon Toronto for security reasons. Mackenzie had ordered the rebels to assemble at Montgomery's Tavern on December 7th. On Sunday, December 4th, [48] it became known in the city that the Executive Council was in special session. Later it was rumoured that at this meeting the decision was taken to put down the incipient revolt before it had a chance of breaking out, that the government already had more or less accurate information regarding the rebels' plans, and that a warrant for Mackenzie's arrest had been taken out. So Rolph, who must have been closely following the course of events in Toronto, decided to warn Mackenzie and to suggest that the city be attacked on Monday instead of Thursday. If this advice had not been followed, Mackenzie might have been arrested and the rebels' hopes prematurely dashed. Unfortunately news of the change of date did not reach all the rebel units. Mackenzie spent most of a week collecting his forces at Montgomery's. On Thursday, the date originally fixed for the assault, Sir Francis Bond Head had the satisfaction of watching rebel headquarters burn to the ground.

The episode of the flag of truce[49] is a controversial one. Rolph agreed to accompany the flag, because he calculated that in refusing to do so, he would direct government suspicion towards him. Bidwell had already incurred government hostility by refusing to take part in the mission. If, at this time, Rolph still believed in the success of the rebellion, then it follows that he did not take his assignment as mediator between Mackenzie and the governor seriously. The embassy set out late Tuesday morning. At this time the rebels still possessed the initiative. Bond Head's position was exceptionally vulnerable. The city remained almost unguarded, no militia volunteers having as yet arrived. Both the Lieutenant-Governor's family and that of the Chief Justice had been placed on a lake steamer for safety's sake. Sir Francis sent forward the flag of truce in order to win time. It seems likely that Rolph did go aside with two of the rebels and recommend an immediate attack, as charged in Bond Head's own *Narrative*: " . . . next to Mr. Mackenzie, Doctor Rolph has proved to have been the most insidious, the most crafty, the most blood-thirsty, the most treacherous, the most cowardly and taking his character altogether, the most infamous of the traitors. After having been the person who fixed the day on which

47. Dent, *op. cit.*, II, 113.
48 *Ibid.*, II, 35-6.
49. *Ibid.*, II, Chapter 23.

Toronto was to be attacked he hypocritically undertook to be the bearer of my appeal to the rebels to avoid effusion of human blood, and it has actually been proved before the commission which is now investigating this treasonable affair, that after Doctor Rolph and Mr. Baldwin had delivered this message from me, the former, Doctor Rolph, went aside with two of the principal traitors and diabolically recommended them to come and attack the town."[50]

In Sir Francis' eyes Rolph was guilty of treason. He was certainly not a traitor to the rebel cause; he gave them the benefit of his advice and can hardly be blamed if Mackenzie delayed in taking it. Did Rolph abuse his responsibility to Sir Francis as the bearer of a flag of truce? Rolph was not on the side of the government and was already guilty of treason before he even undertook to join the flag of truce. In his Navy Island Proclamation, issued on December 13th, Mackenzie states: "From the moment that Sir Francis Bond Head declined to state in writing the objects he had in view, in sending a flag of truce to our camp in Toronto, the message once declined . . . Dr. John Rolph, openly announced his concurrence in our measures."[51] All revolutionaries are traitors until such time as they achieve their ends.

Mackenzie made every effort to retain Rolph's support after the failure of the Yonge Street Rising. However Rolph refused to allow his name to be mentioned in connection with the Provisional Government. He wished to ascertain the strength of Mackenzie's position before committing himself. For this purpose he visited Navy Island a few days before the *Caroline* was cut out.[52] What he saw there must have convinced him that the cause was lost. He declined the post of treasurer in the Provisional Government and immediately renounced Mackenzie and all his projects.[53] Thus ended Rolph's association with the revolutionary movement of 1837.

Did Rolph's actions contribute towards the defeat of the revolt? His connection with it had from the start been a tenuous one. It has already been noted that he agreed to join the movement openly only after its objectives had been secured. He broke with it, not because of a change of heart, but for the very practical reason that it seemed destined to failure. He helped to bring about this failure to the same extent that a man who leaves a sinking ship is responsible for the ensuing calamity.

Rolph was by nature cautious, perhaps over-cautious. One of his obituarists makes the following oblique criticism: "His chief weakness, one that apparently grew on him with age, was his love of *finesse,* which marred his influence with the people even when he had a good end in view."[54] Many of his contemporaries were more impressed by other qualities in him besides native cunning. Sir Francis Hincks records: "He was the most

50. Head, *op. cit.,* 119.
51. Dent, *op. cit.,* II, 188.
52. i.e., December 29, 1837.
53. Dent, *op cit.,* II, 234.
54. *The Globe,* October 21, 1870.

talented and highly educated man in the province, and there never was a man less likely to be influenced by pecuniary considerations."[55]

Rolph was a Liberal. He displays in his politics that spirit of liberalism which in England had culminated in the passing of the Great Reform Act of 1832, and quickly spread to North America. The true nineteenth century Liberal finds a moral issue in politics, whether he is concerned with popular institutions of government, or free trade. Introduce liberal measures, and God would prevail over Mammon. This was Rolph's position. He stuck to his high principles and returned to Canada in 1843, an unrepentent reformer. "Old Dissolving Views" was basically a man of fixed opinion.

55. Ermatinger, *op. cit.*, 113.

REPORT OF THE MUSEUMS SECTION WORKSHOP, CORNWALL, OCTOBER 2, 3, 4, 1959

By Mrs. Gwen Metcalfe

Having made its way eastward to Cornwall for the 1959 Workshop, the Museums Section was well paid for the journey. Many specialists were on hand to furnish interesting and useful information and the tours to Upper Canada Village, the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project and Dr. Charlotte Whitton's address on "Timber Traditions of the Eastern Counties" at the Annual Dinner were only two of many highlights. A rewarding feature of this and every Workshop is the opportunity of meeting with one's kin, so to speak, and discussing matters of common interest. The growing sense of comradeship among museum folk arising from the Workshops makes the work of the museist far less arduous and gives everyone less of a feeling of being a lonely traveller in the forest of many cultures.

Reports on the activities of the Eastern Ontario Museums were presented by W. R. C. Anderson of the Bytown Museum, A. M. Mathieson of the Champlain Trail Museum, and J. F. Leys of the Mill of Kintail. Mrs. Alice J. Turnham, chairman of the Canadian Museums Association, described and commented upon the C.M.A. course on display held at the Redpath Museum, Montreal, in June, and Mr. James S. Gooding, recently-appointed Museums Adviser for the Department of Travel and Publicity, discussed standardizing museum signs, the exchange of material between small museums, and the setting up of a central purchasing agency for museum supplies.

In her lecture on handling and preserving manuscript material Miss Norah Storey, of the Public Archives of Canada, stressed that materials should not be allowed to deteriorate to the point where repairs become necessary and that care should be taken to ensure that readers do not abuse the documents. While fragile materials should be microfilmed students should be allowed to use the originals as far as is possible. Mr. Gerald Stevens discussed early glass-making in this province. American books on the subject have little to say about glass manufactured in Canada,

Mallorytown being the only Canadian location with which they seem familiar. He felt that we should be justly proud of the work and quality of the early Canadian glassmakers. Papers on the identification of museum objects by metallurgical methods and on the conservation of metals were presented by Dr. K. Winterton, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa, and Mr. William Todd, Chief Conservator, Division of Art and Archaeology, Royal Ontario Museum.

Mr. Frederick L. Rath, Junior, Vice-director of the New York State Historical Association at Cooperstown, stressed the importance of interpretation in our museums. Good interpretation, based upon sound scientific research, is designed to make people think for themselves about meanings, ideas and relationships. Museums must proceed on the assumption that 75% of their visitors lack the background for understanding the story the museums are trying to tell and that the remainder have only a limited background for fully comprehending the message. He was not suggesting that the displays talk down to the public, but rather that they should be carefully limited to materials that tell the story with intelligence and displayed in a manner calculated to stimulate the visitor's capacities.

Miss Kaye McFarland presided at the Annual Meeting as acting chairman in the absence through illness of Dr. J. F. Morton. Mr. A. W. Taylor presented the following report of the Nominating Committee: Chairman (with leave of absence), Dr. J. F. Morton; First Vice-Chairman and acting chairman, Miss Kaye McFarland; Second Vice-Chairman, Colonel J. A. McGinnis; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Penelope S. Dunbar; Recording Secretary and Editor of the Workshop Report, Mrs. Gwen Metcalfe; Treasurer, Mr. Leslie R. Gray; Editor of the Newsletter, Mrs. A. W. Taylor; Mailing Convenor, Miss Alice Davidson; Councillors, Miss Ruth Home, Professor George Stanley, Dr. J. F. Morton. Miss Ruth Home and Major J. C. Boylen presented resolutions which were approved and are to be forwarded to the Executive Committee of the Ontario Historical Society.

Visits were made to the United Counties Museum, where a welcome cup of tea was provided by the ladies of the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Historical Society, while courtesies of the Officers' Mess were extended by the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders during the visit of their Military Museum. For the unveiling of a plaque to Captain Samuel Anderson, one of Cornwall's first settlers, the delegates journeyed to Glen-Stor-Dun Lodge, on the site of the Anderson farm.

The interesting banquet address by Dr. Charlotte Whitton, O.B.E., dealt with the early timber trade of the Eastern Counties and with the part timber played in the Ottawa valley, where it is said, "The valley made the timber and timber made Ottawa". Everyday sayings like "hew to the line" or "let the chips fall where they may" have been bequeathed us by the timber men whose broad-axes helped build Canada and are constant reminders of their courageous lives.

To Miss Mary Mack, Convenor of the Workshop, and her committee; to Mr. James C. Bredin, president of the local historical society; to the Cornwall Public Library Board; to the Ladies' Guild of Trinity Church and its rector, the Ven. Archdeacon W. D. McL. Christie, go our sincere appreciation for the excellent programme and the hospitality we enjoyed in Cornwall.

A LETTER FROM GOVERNMENT HOUSE, TORONTO, DECEMBER 1837

Nearly a year ago the Ontario Archives received from Mr. John A. Bradshaw, Q.C., Crown Attorney and Clerk of the Peace at Peterborough, Ontario, a typewritten copy of a letter written by F. L. Bridgman, evidently a lady residing at Government House, Toronto, in December 1837. In this letter are described the fateful days at the beginning of that month and, later, the seizure of Navy Island, as they appeared to the writer. Mr. Bradshaw received the copy of the letter from Mr. Frank Hughes, Wilkie, Saskatchewan, who in turn received it from Mr. B. E. H. Hughes, Tonbridge, Kent, England. At my request the original letter was very kindly sent to Canada by Mr. B. E. H. Hughes, and it has now been added to the Archives holdings.

The original letter is difficult to decipher as it was "crossed" by the writer not only twice but sometimes three times. However the copy has now been carefully checked with the original and it is believed that the letter as reproduced here is a faithful transcription.

The letter is addressed to Miss Fanny West, Tonbridge Castle, Kent, England. Except for the writer's name we know nothing of her nor do we know her position. She was, however, apparently on terms of intimacy with the Governor's family; she may have been a member of Lady Head's staff or, less likely, a visitor.

The events of the four days, from the gathering of the rebels at Montgomery's Tavern on Monday, December 4, to their defeat in the "battle" south of the tavern on Thursday the 7th are sufficiently well known and need not be recapitulated here. The chief interest in the letter is the manner in which it portrays the state of mind of those near the Governor, particularly, of course, of those of the female sex. Ladies in those days were not expected to face with equanimity the prospect of being attacked by armed men. "It is very well known now," she writes, "that it was [the rebels'] intention had they been victorious to hang the Governor and his principal officers, to burn the town and put everyone to death." On the other hand they could rejoice in being able to feel "how really delightful it was to see so many brave men ready to defend [them] to the utmost."

Contemporary accounts of the rebellion are not numerous and we are greatly indebted to Mr. B. E. H. Hughes for having made this letter available.

—George W. Spragge

Government House,
Decr 15th 1837.

My dearest Fanny

I have no doubt you will be astonished to hear that our peaceful Province has been threatened with civil war, and that an insurrection

has actually broken out and been crushed it is hoped for ever, or at least for a very long time. I will endeavour as well as I can to give you a faithful account of what has occurred. You will doubtless have seen from the papers long before you receive this that Lower Canada has been for some time in a state of rebellion, and that at first the rebels were successful in rescuing prisoners and repulsing the Military from a place called St. Denis, we have however had better accounts lately. I am happy to say St. Charles is taken, and our troops have possession of the Richelieu district which is the most disturbed part. Since we received the bad part of this intelligence there were various rumours that the radicals were assembling at Newmarket, a place at a considerable distance up Yonge Street (all our roads are called Streets). On Saturday the 2nd there was also a report that they intended to attack Toronto, in consequence of which, although no one thought they would really come, 50 special constables were sworn in, there were patrols in all the streets, and on Monday Sir Francis issued a Proclamation calling on the Militia to hold themselves in readiness. Things were in this state till Monday night, the 4th, when about 12 o'clock a Mr. Powell[1] came breathless to Government House and told Sir Francis that the rebels were in great force within 3 miles of Toronto, and intended to attack us that night. He had a very narrow escape and had he not acted with great courage and determination we should not have been aware of their approach and had they got possession of the town our situation would have been dreadful as it was their intention to burn it to the ground. It appears he was riding up Yonge Street with a friend and that near the turnpike[2] they were met by McKenzie, one of the leaders, a notorious radical, and some others, who endeavoured to make them prisoners. McKenzie presented his pistol close to Mr. Powell's face, it snapped. Mr. Powell then fired at him, but his pistol also snapped, he then aimed at the other man[3] who immediately fell from his horse, as Mr. Powell thought shot dead; it was however ascertained afterwards that he broke his neck when he fell. Mr. Powell then jumped from his horse, ran into the bush and made his way to Toronto with all speed. We were very much frightened, I had been in bed some time; we all got up directly and dressed ourselves. Sir Francis with a guard of 12 armed men took Lady Head and all the females of the family to the Solicitor-general's[4] house, as being a place of greater safety than Gt. House,[5] as that was the first place the rebels intended to attack. Mrs. Draper received us with great kindness, and there we passed a miserable night, as you may imagine, apprehending all sorts of horrors. On leaving us, Sir Francis went down to the Town Hall,[6] where he was joined by all the principal people, and there made every arrangement to receive the rebels—they however did not come that night. It seems that under Providence the death of Anderson, who was the most determined and blood-thirsty of their leaders, was the cause of their stopping. McKenzie wanted them to proceed, but they were divided and afraid we should be

1. John Powell, the eldest son of the late Chief Justice. He was elected an alderman in 1837 and was mayor of Toronto 1838-40.

2. The toll-gate at Bloor Street.

3. The rebel "Colonel" Anderson who was to have led the attack on Toronto the following day.

4. The Solicitor-General was William Henry Draper.

5. Government House at this time was on the south-west corner of King and Graves (now Simcoe) streets.

6. Then at the south end of what is now the St. Lawrence market.

too well prepared for them. We remained at Mrs. Draper's until Tuesday evening, when the Archdeacon[7] came to Lady Head from Sir Francis to say it was his wish that we should go on board the "Transit" steam boat, as he no longer considered Mrs. Draper's house safe. We heard then that the rebels were at the top of the College Avenue,[8] which is close to the town—we saw also the smoke from Dr. Horn's[9] house which they had set on fire. You can have no idea of the state of excitement and terror in which we were. The scene on board the vessel was most distressing. There were several families on board beside Lady Head's, and they were all in the greatest distress and fear for their husbands, brothers, and sons who were all exposed to danger, as every one had taken arms—although I was very much frightened and felt very deeply for them all, I was rejoiced and comforted to know that all who were dear to me were far away and in safety. During the night we were moored out in the lake, and in the morning we came back to the wharf, so that we could see and hear all that was passing in the Town. On this day, Wednesday, volunteers were coming in from all parts, it was a joyous sight to see them arrive and did ones heart good to hear the cheers of those who came down to receive them. We were very much alarmed this night by a schooner coming up close to us and refusing to give any account of herself—Captn Richardson, who is a very determined character, immediately fired into her, this frightened us as we did not know what might be the consequence, and we were still more alarmed by Mrs. Richardson telling us that McKenzie having heard that Lady Head and her family were on board had sent this vessel to take us prisoners. It proved to be a vessel laden with salt from Oswego, and being taken by surprise was too much frightened to answer.[10] On Thursday Sir Francis at the head of 2500 men went up Yonge Street to attack the rebels; they were soon put to flight after a very slight resistance, and Montgomery's tavern,[11] their place of rendezvous, burnt to the ground as likewise the house of Gibson, one of their leaders. The name of the place they fixed upon as their station was most appropriate, namely Gallows hill[12]—only 3 of our men were wounded. McKenzie made his escape and has not yet been taken. 1000 pounds are offered for him. You may suppose that the party on board the steamer were most anxious all this time—I never passed so long a day in my life. At length the Mayor[13] came to us and brought the rebels flag, which he presented to Lady Head, he told us that the victory was complete, that the rebels were flying in all directions, and that Sir Francis had pardoned many who were brought up prisoners. This act of mercy must I am sure have gained him the hearts of these

7. The Venerable Dr. John Strachan.

8. Both the western side of what is now University Avenue and the present College Street between Yonge Street and the present University Avenue were known as College Avenue.

9. Dr. R. C. Horne was a member of the Medical Board of Upper Canada and also assistant cashier (assistant general manager) of the Bank of Upper Canada. His house, which was on the east side of Yonge Street north of the Concession Road (later Bloor Street), was burned by Mackenzie on Tuesday afternoon, probably because of Horne's association with the Bank and as a means to hasten the capitulation of the "Tories".

10. This incident seems to have hitherto been unrecorded.

11. A monument in front of the post-office at the corner of Yonge and Montgomery streets, Toronto, marks the site.

12. The writer was mistaken: the scene of the "battle" was north of the present Davisville Avenue; Gallows Hill was the name given to the hill on Yonge Street south of the present St. Clair Avenue.

13. George Gurnett.

poor deluded creatures, many of whom were so affected, that they burst into tears. He is indeed a noble character, uniting great firmness and decision with so much humanity and goodness. He is as kind and amiable in private life as he is just and honorable in his public character. He sent the carriage down to the wharf for us on his return, and on Thursday evening we had the happiness of being once more in safety under the same roof we had left in such alarm and which none of us expected to see again. Everything is now going on well. Government House is a scene of great bustle and business—full of gentlemen from morning till night. Volunteers continue to come in every day—on Saturday 500 came from Yonge Street and on Sunday 1100 more [;] there is now however, thank God, no occasion for their services, the business is done. Sir Francis has issued a Proclamation to say that there is no further occasion for the resort of Militia to Toronto. We are to have a body of 1000 men, who are to be stationed at the Garrison for the protection of Toronto and the neighbourhood. There is a guard round Gt. House night and day. It is really delightful to see so many brave men ready to defend us to the utmost. The town that was so peaceful and quiet is now like a garrison, every one is armed, horsemen are galopping [sic] in all directions and bodies of armed men are to be seen marching about. There has been only one person killed on our side, his death is very melancholy and has cast a gloom on our otherwise bloodless victory—Coll. Moody[14] a gallant, courageous man, who lived about 15 miles up Yonge Street, had on Monday received certain intelligence of the intentions of the rebels, he wrote a despatch to his Excellency informing him of this and sent it by a servant; fearing however that he might be stopped, which was the case, he determined to go to Toronto himself and set out for that place accompanied by 4 other gentlemen. They soon came up with a party of the enemy, through whom Coll Moody and another pushed their way, but meeting another party, amongst whom was McKenzie, they were again stopped. Coll Moody fired his pistol; he was immediately pulled off his horse and it is said that while on the ground one of the wretches shot him through the body; he was taken to Montgomery's Tavern where he died after lingering 3 hours. The number of the rebels was, I believe 700 although it was said there were 3000. The inscription on the flag[15] in Lady Head's possession is "Bidwell and the glorious *manority,* 1837 and a good beginning" on one side, and on the other "Victoria 1st and Reform". Bidwell was the radical speaker of the House of Assembly. Sir Francis has allowed him to expatriate himself; he has left Canada for ever. McKenzie the radical printer and editor of the paper called the Constitution[16] is wandering about the country. He is the most daring and cruel of them, the prime agitator of all radical meetings and of the conspiracy. It appears that this attack has been rather premature in consequence of the success of their party in the Lower Province—it is now very well known that they intended to

14. Lieutenant-Colonel Moodie was a half-pay officer (his regiment was the 104th Foot) who had settled on Yonge Street (Lot 49, Concession 1, of Markham Township) in 1835. He was mortally wounded by the rebels gathered at Montgomery's Tavern on the night of December 4 when he attempted to ride through their ranks with the object of informing the lieutenant governor of the danger threatening his capital.

15. Bidwell said that this "had been prepared for some election or public meeting . . . [it was] never used, I believe, by the insurgents." Dent, *The Upper Canadian Rebellion,* II, 167.

16. The *Constitution* was founded in July 1836 by W. L. Mackenzie. It ceased publication 6 December 1837.

attack us on the 19th, as on that day a young girl is to be executed for poisoning her mistress. Her guilt is proved beyond doubt, yet she persists in her innocence and being very young and pretty, there is a great feeling of pity towards her. Immediately after her execution, McKenzie intended to harangue the mob and raise their indignation against the cruelty and oppression of those who condemned her.[17] A rocket was to be thrown up at the Garrison as a signal for their party to advance on the town when those within were sufficiently excited to join them; such was their wicked scheme which has been so happily frustrated. Indeed we cannot be sufficiently thankful to God's good providence for our escape from their murderous hands. I really tremble when I think of it, for had Mr. Powell [not] given the alarm they would have been in the Town before we knew of their approach. It was McKenzie's plan to come to Gt. House, and he was heard to say nothing [would] satisfy him but Sir Francis's head. It is very well known now that it was their intention had they been victorious to hang the Governor and his principal officers, to burn the town and put everyone to death. We have heard of one escape Sir Francis had—on Thursday when in pursuit of the rebels one of our party saw a man take a deliberate aim at him from a tree, the ball passed close between him and his servant who was close behind him. The man who saw this went under the tree and shot the villain dead on the spot. The rebels have lost a great many men, but the number is not known. There are 200 prisoners, among whom is Montgomery.

Decr. 29th. I add a few lines dearest Fanny to tell you that although the rebellion is put down here that we are still in a very critical state in consequence of McKenzie making his escape to Buffalo, where he has induced a great number of Americans to join him, about 800, to attack our Frontier. He has taken possession of Navy Island which is about 3 miles above the falls. There he collects his men, arms, cannons &c and threatens us with an invasion. It is supposed by those who know best that the American Government will prevent their people from joining these rebels and [cut] off all communication between Navy Island and the United States, and most earnestly is it to be hoped that this will be the case, as our situation would be most dangerous were they to assist our enemy. Our frontier is however strongly defended by no less than 1300 horse and men. From the situation of Navy Is. it is almost impossible to attack it, certainly not without great loss of life, as on account of its proximity to the falls the rapids would carry the boats over the falls. There was a rumour that they intended to attack us today, we have not however received any intelligence to confirm this. You cannot imagine dear Fanny how anxious and I must add how frightened I am, there is something so dreadful in war and so unnatural in *civil* war that I quite shudder when I think what may be the result of all this. It is however a great blessing and comfort to know that we are under the protection of Him who never fails those who trust in him. I pray that I may have faith sufficient always to feel this. I was very happy to hear you had been so gay and happy—it always gives me pleasure to know of your happiness. I am sorry to hear your dear Mamma still continues weak and ill. I hope to hear a better account next time—pray

17. This is a good illustration of the type of story that is retailed during times of excitement. The date set for the rising was the 7th of December; it was then advanced to the 4th. There seems to be no evidence whatever for the "well-known" fact that the date for the rising was to have been the 19th.

remember me most kindly to her, tell her I very very often think of her kindness to me. I trust I shall yet have the pleasure of seeing her once more. God bless you dearest Fanny. I know you will excuse my entering on the subject of dress &c [just now?]—should these unhappy disturbances end favourably and I feel again at liberty to think of those subjects you shall have my full opinion. Once more God bless and preserve you. Believe me ever yours most affectionately

F. L. Bridgman

Give my best love to your sister & remembrances to all.

I am sorry to say I have not heard anything respecting Mrs. Elliott's sister nor do I think it likely I shall, for although on the same continent I am no less than 400 miles from Montreal. I am grieved for the poor old man her father. The letter I sent must have reached her residence as letters are continually arriving from that part. I should imagine she must have left Montreal. It is altogether most extraordinary.

THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY

The Scottish Genealogy Society is compiling a biographical dictionary of the Scots who emigrated from the homeland in years past and seeks the assistance of persons who can supply the details of such migrants. According to a sample questionnaire, the following information is desired:

(1) Name	(5) Place of Origin	(9) Wife
(2) Parentage	(6) Dates of Birth and Death	(10) Parentage
(3) Destination	(7) Occupation	(11) Children
(4) Date and Ship	(8) Date of Marriage	(12) References

Readers who count Scottish emigrants among their forbears, or whose researches have discovered information of the sort required, are urged to write to:

Mr. Duncan McNaughton, M.A.
Honorary-Secretary,
The Scottish Genealogy Society,
28 Pitbauchlie Bank,
Dunfermline, Scotland.

A SUGGESTION

The Ontario Historical Society can put to good use funds for general expenses, for publication purposes, and for museum development.

You are urged to include the Society as a beneficiary when preparing your will. The following form is suggested:

I give, devise, and bequeath to the Ontario Historical Society the sum of ....., which shall be held by the Society as an endowment, the income from said endowment to be used for such of the Society's purposes as its Executive Committee in its discretion may determine.

The President or the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society will be happy to discuss this matter with interested persons.

CATHOLIC MISSIONARY LABOURS ON THE LAKE SUPERIOR FRONTIER, 1667-1751

By Francis J. Nelligan, S.J.

To most Canadians the missionary work of the Jesuits within the confines of present-day Ontario during the French regime consists solely of the justly-renowned, heroic labours of the Order among the Hurons in the years from 1632 to 1650. And it is true that in the century after 1660 the Jesuit missionaries expended their effort for the most part in what are now the Middle Western States of the American Union. Yet portions of this later story belong also to the history of this province, notably the activities of the Order in the country northwest of Lake Superior that is included in the present-day Diocese of Fort William. While everyone is familiar with La Vérendrye's famous journeys of exploration and his quest for the Western Sea, little regard is taken of the fact that he was generally accompanied by Jesuit chaplains who also shared fully in the triumphs and the hardships that were the lot of the pioneer.

I

The first priest to venture north or northwest of Lake Superior was Father Claude Allouez, S.J. During the late spring of 1667 he left the Mission of the Holy Spirit at Chequamegon Bay, in what is now the State of Wisconsin, and crossing Lake Superior accompanied by two Indians, visited Lake Nipigon. Two years previously he had come to Chequamegon Bay to minister to two groups of Indians, one of Petun Hurons, the other a band of Ottawas. These people were fugitives from the Georgian Bay area, who after fleeing before the fierce Iroquois invasions of their homeland in 1649-1653 had found their way to the southern shores of Lake Superior.

The reason for Allouez' journey of 1667 was to reestablish contact with another Georgian Bay tribe, the Nipissings,[1] who had also fled before the fierce Iroquois onslaught and taken refuge in the Lake Nipigon area. Father Allouez knew that there were Christians among the Nipissings, for Father Claude Pijart and other Jesuit companions of Brébeuf and the Huronia missionaries had spent nine years, 1641-1650, evangelizing them. And since these Christian Nipissings had not seen a priest for seventeen years Allouez knew they would surely welcome a visit from him.

The missionary recounts the story of his trip to Lake Nipigon in his journal, extracts from which were embodied in the Relation for 1666-1667.[2]

1. See *Twenty-Ninth Archaeological Report*, an Appendix to the Annual Report of the Minister of Education for Ontario, 1917, "The Nipissings," 9-23.

2. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, edited by R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1896-1901), LI, 63 et seq.

He left Chequamegon Bay on May 5th, skirted the Minnesota shore of Lake Superior, passed by Isle Royale, and arrived at the mouth of the Nipigon River on May 25th. After a difficult trip up the half-frozen stream, over numerous portages, he came to a small bay where Lake Alimibegong, as he calls it,[3] has its outflow into the river. There he met some Nipissing huntsmen, and on June 29th, Pentecost Sunday, he erected an open-air altar, and said Mass for them.[4] It was the first Mass celebrated anywhere in Canada west of Sault Ste. Marie.

Four more days were spent paddling amongst the islands of Lake Nipigon seeking a passage through floating and melting ice, till on June 3rd he came to the Nipissing village, located somewhere along the eastern shore of the lake. Allouez gives a brief account of his fortnight's sojourn there:

> It [i.e. the village] is composed of Savages, mostly idolators, with some Christians of long standing. Among them I found twenty who made public profession of Christianity. I did not lack occupation with both classes during the two weeks' sojourn in their country, and I worked as diligently as my health, broken by the fatigues of the journey, allowed. I found more resistance here than anywhere to infant baptism;[5] but the more the devil opposes us, the more must we try to confound him. He is hardly pleased, I think, to see me make this latest journey, ...[6]

We have no record of the missionary's return journey to Chequamegon Bay. We know that later during that summer of 1667 he accompanied the usual party of Ottawas—the middlemen of the fur-trade—on their annual trip to the St. Lawrence, and arrived at Quebec on August 3rd. He remained there for two days only, pleading for other missionaries to come and help him reap the rich harvest of Indian souls. Another Jesuit returned with him. Allouez remained two more years at the Mission of the Holy Spirit, being replaced in 1669 by Father James Marquette of later Mississippi fame. He then went to begin twenty more years of labour among the Potawatomies, Miamis, and Illinois tribes dwelling west and south of Lake Michigan. During the night of August 27-28, 1689, near what is now the city of Niles, Michigan, the missionary passed to his well-merited reward.

II

After 1667 no further visits by Catholic missionaries to the country north and west of Lake Superior are recorded for more than sixty years.

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3. Lake Nipigon was called "Alimibegong", "Alempigon", "Nemipigon", "Alimbeg", etc., during the French regime.

4. For a more detailed description of the journey and a further discussion of the location of the place where the first Mass was said, see the writer's "The Visit of Father Allouez to Lake Nipigon in 1667", in Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Report*, 1956, 41-52.

5. A common Indian superstition was that Baptism caused the death of children. Infants in danger of death were baptized by the missionaries in preference to all others, and when they died the Indians falsely concluded that it was the Baptism that caused their deaths.

6. *The Jesuit Relations*, LI, 69.

A mission was maintained at Sault Ste. Marie in the years between 1668 and 1696, and a second at Michilimackinac, opened in 1671, remained in operation, for all but a brief interval, till 1765, five years after the end of the French regime. These ministered to the traders and Indian bands in their neighbourhoods, as well as to Frenchmen travelling to the country further west, a district into which the fur trade was steadily advancing. Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Lhut, and his brother Claude, the Sieur de la Tourette, built trading posts at the mouths of the Nipigon and Kaministiquia Rivers (probably in 1679), on Lake Nipigon (1683), and on the Albany River (1685).[7] In 1688 Jacques de Noyon discovered a route west to the Lake of the Woods by way of the Kaministiquia, Dog, Savanne, Seine, and Rainy Rivers—one of the future routes to the western prairies.[8] But the French traders and coureurs de bois were too nomadic, and their establishments too small and impermanent to justify a priest neglecting his Indian flock at Michilimackinac or Sault Ste. Marie for several weeks in order to minister to the traders further west. Furthermore, after 1689 the number of Frenchmen frequenting the Lake Superior country was sharply reduced as France became locked in struggle with Britain for mastery of North America.

But at length peace was restored in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht. The Hudson's Bay Company recovered its forts on Hudson Bay, and the rivalry of French and English to win control of the fur trade was resumed. The French made an earnest effort to strengthen their control over the Lake Superior country, and to utilize it as a base for expansion further westward, the better to compete with their English rivals and perhaps also to discover the elusive route to the Western Sea. In 1716 Governor Vaudreuil advised Paris of Noyon's discovery of 1688, and urged that a chain of forts be erected along the route to the west, one on the Kaministiquia, another at Rainy Lake, and a third on Lake Winnipeg.[9] The next year Zacharie Rabutel de la Noue travelled west with a party of fifty men to erect the fort on the Kaministiquia, and by developing the fur trade of the region, to attach the Indians to the French cause.[10] On the left bank of the Kaministiquia, below its outflow into what has since been called the McKellar River,[11] in the autumn of 1717 La Noue built a fort

7. Margry, F., editor, *Memoires et documents pour servir a l'histoire des origines francaises des pays d'outre-mer* (Paris, 1888), VI, 19, 30-1, 50-1.

8. *Ibid.*, 496.

9. *Ibid.*, 495, 499.

10. *Ibid.*, 504-5.

11. Ralph Henry Bruyère, a Captain of the Royal Engineers, who surveyed the land at the mouth of the Kaministiquia in 1802, marked two locations on his Sketch of the Entrance of the River. One, which he called "Old French Establishment", was on the right bank of the Mission River near its outflow from the main Kaministiquia stream at the present-day Fort William coal docks; this can be nothing else but du Lhut's post. The other, marked as "Old French Fort", on the location referred to in the text, was certainly La Noue's establishment of 1717. The original sketch is in the Map Division of the Public Archives, Ottawa. L. R. Masson states that Thomas Corry, a trader who went to Kaministiquia in 1767, reported that La Noue's fort had been destroyed by fire some time previously (*Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1899), I, 113).

that was to serve as an important trading base and missionary headquarters till the final years of the French regime. But La Noue and his successors in command at Kaministiquia[12] failed to establish a permanent post on Rainy River because of the hostility of the Sioux who warred continually with the Crees and Saulteurs or Ojibwas, the Indian allies of the French. However a small outpost was established at Michipicoten and a new fort was erected at the mouth of the Nipigon River. From these coureurs de bois advanced northward to set up 'huts' along the rivers flowing into James Bay, thus diverting furs from the English.

The appointment in 1727 of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, as commandant of the "Postes du Nord" brought an aggressive and visionary leader upon the scene. By 1728 he was sending a memoir to the Governor of New France, the Marquis de Beauharnois, advising of the possibilities of a western route via the Pigeon River, and offering to explore it himself.[13] Permission having been received, La Vérendrye spent the summer of 1731 at Montreal making his preparations and moving men and supplies to their base at Kaministiquia. He came up himself in late July and reached Michilimackinac on August 1. There he was joined by Father Charles Mesaiger, S.J., who was to accompany the expedition as chaplain and minister to the Indians of the territories being opened to the French.

Charles-Michel Mesaiger was born at Paris on March 7, 1689 (or 1690), entered the Jesuit Order on September 9, 1706, and was ordained priest probably in 1720. Coming out to New France in 1722, he was sent directly to Michilimackinac, and from there to the Algonquin mission among the Miamis, where he remained till 1731.[14] Father Saint-Pé had been chosen as La Vérendrye's companion, but at the last minute he could not leave, and Mesaiger was substituted in his place.

When in the autumn of 1731 La Vérendrye's exploring party of fifty men arrived at the mouth of the Pigeon River, they found it impossible of navigation, and a long portage of nine miles to its upper reaches had to be undertaken. There was only an Indian trail to guide them, so a track had to be cut through the woods for the transport of canoes and goods. At this grim prospect the voyageurs rebelled, and La Vérendrye had to be content with sending his nephew, Christophe Dufrost de la Jemmeraye, with three canoes ahead to Rainy Lake. He himself returned with about thirty men to Fort Kaministiquia for the winter, and Father Mesaiger accompanied him.[15] Thus Father Mesaiger became the first priest to visit and dwell some months on the site of what is now Fort William.

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12. La Noue's immediate successors were Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Ours Deschaillons, from 1721 to 1724; and Jean-Baptiste Jarret de Verchères (a brother of the celebrated Madeleine de Verchères), from 1724 to 1727.

13. The memoir "Joint à la lettre de M. de Beauharnois", is printed in Burpee, L. J., editor, *Journals and Letters of La Verendrye and His Sons* (The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1927), 43-63.

14. Rochemonteix, C. de, *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIIIieme Siecle* (Paris, 1895-6), I, 204-5. See also Morice, A. G., *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien* (Saint Boniface, 1915), I, 34.

15. Beauharnois to Maurepas, October 15, 1731, in Burpee, L. J., *op. cit.*, 91.

We have, unfortunately, no record of how the missionary passed the winter of 1731-1732 at Kaministiquia. Our interpretation of events must remain therefore in the region of surmise. Certainly Father Mesaiger could hardly have been kept very busy during those months. There were probably fewer than fifty Frenchmen at the fort—the thirty or so who were brought back there from Grand Portage with La Vérendrye, the small regular staff that manned the post itself, and perhaps a few coureurs de bois or Métis domiciled in the area. There is no evidence that even a small hamlet or village of either whites or Indians existed at Kaministiquia at that time. Fort Nipigon was only seventy miles from Kaministiquia, however, so it is quite possible that Father Mesaiger would have gone there during Lent or at Eastertide, 1732, to attend to the spiritual needs of Frenchmen and Indians.

When La Vérendrye and Father Mesaiger arrived at Kaministiquia in the autumn of 1731 there were probably some Indian families in the vicinity of the fort. Their annual harvesting of wild rice usually was completed by the end of September, and in the autumn they usually required the services of the blacksmith at the post to repair their muskets, kettles, etc. preparatory to setting out on their winter's hunting expedition. Then of course the news of La Vérendrye's arrival would attract many Indians to the post. The explorer was inclined to be lavish in his distribution of presents to the natives, and he was fond of making speeches and displaying all the modest grandeur which his position as commandant warranted. But by the beginning of the cold season all the Indians, and perhaps some of the French voyageurs as well, would have dispersed to the areas allotted for that season to each family or band for the winter's hunt. Father Mesaiger would see no more of them till the great gathering in April or May, 1732, when both the hunting and the maple sugaring for the year were over. At that season both Ojibwas and Crees from the Lake of the Woods were accustomed to appear in great numbers at the mouth of the Kaministiquia. It would be then, if ever, that the missionary would find an opportunity to instruct and baptize those Indians who were not preoccupied with trading and fishing.

But the time for such work was very short, for on June 8 Father Mesaiger set out for the west in the company of La Vérendrye and thirty or more voyageurs. Their passage was by way of Grand Portage, and considerable delay was occasioned by efforts to make the forty or more portages of that route more passable. They came at last to Fort St. Pierre, the post La Jemmeraye had erected the previous autumn on the right bank of Rainy River below its outflow from Rainy Lake, near the present-day Fort Frances, Ontario. But La Vérendrye lost very little time there except to greet and distribute presents to the Indians. A great flotilla of over fifty canoes of Indians joined his party as it proceeded to the Lake of the Woods. We may imagine this imposing spectacle moving in a northward direction probably more or less along the present inter-

national boundary line. Crossing the open lake it proceeded along the western shore of Big Island, and followed in the shelter of several islands till what is now called American Point was reached. Father Mesaiger is said to have selected the site for the new establishment—a cove on the southern shore about two miles further on—because of the abundance of fish and game in the area. La Vérendrye called the new post Fort St. Charles in honour both of the priest and of the Governor, Charles de Beauharnois.[16]

Among the buildings erected in the enclosure of the Fort was a house for the commandant, another for the missionary, and a church or chapel, the first place of Christian worship erected in the whole area north and west of Lake Superior of which we have positive record.[17] Upon the site of this church one hundred and seventy-six years later were found the graves of Father Aulneau, of Jean-Baptiste, La Vérendrye's 22-year old son, and of three others, probably Indians, according to the opinion of the medical experts who examined the skeletons in 1908.[18]

We are left once more without any record of Father Mesaiger's activities during the winter he spent at Fort St. Charles. We do know that numerous Crees were in fairly constant contact with the French that winter, though the Assiniboines of the neighbourhood could not be induced to approach the Fort as yet.[19] We may be sure the priest did what he could to instruct and baptize them. That the three Indians buried under the church were Christians is quite certain; for otherwise they would not have been interred in that place. But we cannot tell whether they were Mesaiger's converts, or those of Aulneau, three years later, or whether they were baptized by some one else before Fort St. Charles was abandoned, towards the end of the French regime.

But the missionary's health broke down rather badly during that winter. Hence when La Jemmeraye left for Montreal in the spring of 1733 to report progress to Beauharnois and to solicit financial support for his uncle's enterprise, Father Mesaiger accompanied him. He was very ill when he arrived at Quebec; he was unable to do any work for the next three years, and is listed in the Jesuit catalogues of those times as "infirmus". He was never able to return to the missions, but remained at the Quebec College from 1736 to 1741 as professor of mathematics, and from 1741 to 1749 as bursar. His health continued fragile, however, and in 1749 he returned to France. He died at Rouen on August 7, 1766.[20]

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16. Burpee, L. J., *op. cit.*, 103.

17. Father Mesaiger must have had a chapel of some sort while at Kaministiquia, but there is no record to show that it was a structure separate from other buildings within the fort, or that even a large room was set aside exclusively for religious purposes.

18. Prud'homme, Judge L.-A., "Découverte Historique", in *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*, VII (Septembre, 1908), 214-28.

19. Burpee, L. J., *op. cit.*, 104.

20. Rochemonteix, C. de, *op. cit.*, I, 211 (note 1).

III

La Vérendrye passed the winter of 1734-35 on the banks of the St. Lawrence. When he left Montreal on June 21, 1735, on his second journey to the Lake of the Woods he was accompanied by Father Mesaiger's successor, Father Jean-Pierre Aulneau, S.J. This missionary had instructions from his superior to study the language of the Cree and Assiniboine nations, and, when there was an opportunity, to go further west and south to the country of a certain half-civilized tribe called the Mandans. According to the reports brought by other Indians to Fort St. Charles between 1732 and 1734, this tribe was a sedentary people given to agriculture and other arts of peace. Father Mesaiger's experience and the official reports reaching Quebec had stressed the fact that very little headway could be made in converting any great number of the Crees, Assiniboines, and Saulteurs as long as they continued their nomadic life and their constant war with the Sioux. To establish a real beginning to Christianity in the west the Jesuits believed the Mandans offered the best opportunity. Father Aulneau's ultimate objective in going with La Vérendrye in 1735 was therefore to reach the country along the upper reaches of the Missouri River where this people lived.[21]

Jean-Pierre Aulneau de la Touche was born on April 12, 1705, at Moutiers-sur-le-Hay, in Vendée, France. He made his studies at the Jesuit college at Luçon, and when only fifteen years of age entered the Society of Jesus at Bordeaux. After the usual course of training and ordination he embarked for Canada on May 29, 1734.[22] The Atlantic crossing was a difficult and stormy passage of seventy-five days. A ship fever broke out among the passengers; about two hundred were stricken, and of these twenty died at sea. We get some idea of the character of the young missionary from a letter written on October 29, 1734, by Father Nau, S.J., one of the other priests who travelled on the same ship with him to Quebec: "He [i.e. Father Aulneau] set no limit to his charity. He was forever at the bedside of the sick and dying, in the midst of vermin and infection, performing for them the most menial and loathsome services. God preserved his health during the voyage for the consolation of those on board."[23] But the young priest had caught the infection, and in a few days after landing at Quebec he was at death's door. The crisis passed, then a relapse once again caused his brethren to despair of saving his life. But he recovered, and by the end of October was able to write his mother in France that he was now as well as ever. He spent the

21. Beauharnois' Report of September 28, 1733 is in Burpee, L. J., *op. cit.*, 107. See also *ibid.*, 117 et seq., and 155 et seq. (La Vérendrye's journal from May 27, 1733 to 1734).

22. Rochemonteix, C. de, *op. cit.*, I, 212 et seq.

23. *The Aulneau Collection,* 31. This is an English translation, published at Montreal in 1893 by Father Arthur Jones, S.J., of letters to Madame Aulneau from her son and from other Jesuits. The originals were discovered in 1889 in the Aulneau family manor in France, and copies were made for the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. They have been published by the Archives of Quebec. See *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec pour 1926-1927,* 261-320.

winter of 1734-35 at Quebec completing his theological studies under the direction of Father Guesnier.[24]

Father Aulneau bore in appearance and character a striking resemblance to St. Isaac Jogues,[25] and he was not unlike that martyr in his zeal for the conversion of the Indians, and his willingness to lay down his life, if necessary, for their salvation. But when early in the spring of 1735 he was told that he was to go off alone to break new ground in the far-off West he felt a most lively repugnance to the task assigned him. He was terrified of the perils to which he fancied his soul would be exposed in an isolated mission where he would be separated for three or four years from all his confrères. He wrote: "I shall be removed several hundred leagues from any other priest, and in that lies the greatest hardship of all of my mission, because I am far from flattering myself that I shall seldom need to cleanse my soul in the Blood of Jesus Christ. But God seems to require of me the sacrifice of this very consolation. I can refuse Him nothing. Let His Holy Name be forever blessed."[26] But about the middle of June, when the time came for Father Aulneau to set out on his long voyage, so far had he overcome his fears that he was able to write " . . . the closer insight I have of the worry and sufferings of the life I am to lead, the more thankful I am that God has deigned to call me to the missions of this forlorn country."[27]

La Vérendrye's party left Sault St. Louis, near Montreal, on June 21st. A stopover of eight days was made at Michilimackinac, after which they continued their journey along the northern shore of Lake Superior. There is no record of even a brief stopover at Nipigon or Fort Kaministiquia, but we can be certain that the explorer would not have passed by what was his chief depot of supplies in all the upper country. It is highly probable therefore that Father Aulneau was the second priest to visit the site of present-day Fort William. Aulneau describes in one of his letters the difficult route from Grand Portage onwards. There was a great forest fire raging in the area, and we are told that the party travelled nearly all the way from Lake Superior "through fire and a thick stifling smoke which prevented us from catching a glimpse of the sun."[28] Fort St. Charles was reached on October 23, 1735, four months after the date of departure from Sault St. Louis.

Father Aulneau spent the winter of 1735-36 at Fort St. Charles for it was too late in the season for him to go further west. Besides, his orders were to study the Cree and Assiniboine languages during the winter, and then in the spring to go to Fort Maurepas, near the mouth of the Winnipeg River, where La Jemmeraye had established a post in the late fall of 1734. During the ensuing summer the missionary hoped

24. Rochemonteix, C. de, *op. cit.*, I, 211.
25. *Ibid.*, 212.
26. *The Aulneau Collection*, 48-9.
27. *Ibid.*, 53.
28. *Ibid.*, 71.

to work among the Assiniboines there, and then, about November 1st when these Indians made their annual trip to buy their winter's supply of corn in the Mandan country, he would accompany them, and begin the mission to the Mandans.

Father Aulneau had a gift for languages, and he was the first missionary who attempted to systematize the Cree tongue. But the Indians were away from Fort St. Charles most of the time during that winter, and even when they were at the fort they were averse to helping others to study their language. Despite these difficulties on April 30, 1736 the priest was able to write that he was able to speak Cree passably well and had also acquired a smattering of Assiniboine.[29]

Aulneau was ready to set out for Lake Winnipeg to begin his summer ministry among the Assiniboines when news arrived on June 2, 1736 from Fort Maurepas that deranged all his plans for that year. Young La Jemmeraye, commandant at Fort Maurepas, had died on May 10, and the post on the Winnipeg River would have to be abandoned temporarily. There could be no hope therefore of Aulneau's going west just then. So instead he decided to accompany the party that La Vérendrye was about to send to Michilimackinac for much-needed supplies. There he would be able to consult his confrères and after a brief stay at the mission he could return to Fort St. Charles with the party.

La Vérendrye's eldest son, Jean-Baptiste, was placed in charge of the nineteen voyageurs with whom Father Aulneau was to travel. They left Fort St. Charles either on June 5th or June 8th, and were warned to keep a sharp look-out for a party of 130 hostile Sioux known to be lurking among the islands of the Lake of the Woods.

Twenty-one miles from the fort the party landed on an island to take their evening meal and spend the night. During the night, or early next morning, the camp was attacked by the Sioux and all twenty-one Frenchmen were massacred. In the absence of any survivors our knowledge of the affair is derived from the report of another French party that arrived at the scene a few days later. It was apparent to them that the Sioux had taken their victims by surprise, for the dead men's weapons were not found beside their bodies, and there was little indication of any struggle. All twenty-one bodies had been decapitated, and the heads of some were found rolled up in beaver skins. But as neither Aulneau's head nor that of young La Vérendrye were found, it is thought they must have been carried away by the Sioux. It was clear that Father Aulneau had been first struck by an arrow that pierced his side. He had then fallen on one knee, and, supporting himself with his left hand on the ground, his right was raised in absolution of the others, when a warrior coming up from behind had dealt him a death-blow with a tomahawk. The Sioux later claimed that they had no intention of killing the priest, but one of their braves, not knowing this, had committed the deed.

29. *Ibid.*, 78.

Except for decapitation, Aulneau's body was not mutilated after death as were those of Jean-Baptiste La Vérendrye and most of his companions.[30] The French party that came upon the terrible scene around June 21st buried the bodies on the spot, but in September of the same year La Vérendrye had the bodies of Father Aulneau and his son, as well as the skulls of the others, exhumed and brought to Fort St. Charles, where they were re-interred beneath the church.

The name Massacre Island was given the place where Aulneau and his companions met their fate by the explorers and travellers who passed it on journeys across the Lake of the Woods during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Indians called it Manitou Island and they would never visit it, for they considered it a haunted place. Father Belcourt, a missionary who worked in the Lake of the Woods area in the next century, visited the island in 1843, saw the tumulus where the victims of 1736 had been buried, and erected a cross to commemorate the massacre.[31] A party of Jesuit scholastics of St. Boniface College, vacationing near Kenora in 1890, went on pilgrimage to Massacre Island and there set up another cross to replace that of the Abbé Belcourt which had long since disappeared. In 1902 Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface, Manitoba, organized an unsuccessful expedition to discover the sites of Fort St. Charles and of the graves of Aulneau and his companions. In 1905 His Grace erected a small memorial chapel on Massacre Island. Other attempts to find Father Aulneau's resting-place were made in the Northwest Angle country where old Fort St. Charles had been located. These were without success, however, until at last, in early August, 1908, a party from St. Boniface College found the site, and with the assistance of medical and archaeological experts, were able to identify Father Aulneau's skeleton, and that of young La Vérendrye. These precious relics were transferred to St. Boniface College, and kept in honour there until they were destroyed during the fire of November 24, 1922, which left the College a heap of ruins.

Massacre Island is well within the limits of the Province of Ontario, and our tourists and vacationists visit the historic spot, and venerate the memory of the priest whose blood was spilt upon its surface. It is hardly probable, however, that the Roman Catholic Church will class Father Aulneau as one of its martyrs. There is very little cause to think that the Sioux perpetrated the massacre of 1736 out of hatred for the Catholic faith. The French had supplied the Crees and other enemies of the Sioux with arms,[32] and young Jean-Baptiste La Vérendrye had gone with them on their warlike expedition of 1734 against the tribe. It is much more likely, therefore, that revenge against the young man and his compatriots was the real motive for the massacre. But Father Aulneau does

30. Archives Coloniales de la Marine, Paris: Nouvelle France, Vol. 16, Postes des pays de l'ouest, 1679-1759, C. 1, Fol. 189. Cited in *The Aulneau Collection*, 92-4.
31. *The Aulneau Collection*, 91.
32. Burpee, L. J., *op. cit.*, 91.

not need the martyr's palm to excite our admiration for his heroic spirit. He was most willing to shed his blood for the faith he was so eager to spread amongst the Indians of the great Northwest.

IV

Father Aulneau's tragic fate did not deter further mission work in the far west. A much more serious problem was the lamentable shortage of personnel, due in the first instance to the diminished popularity of the North American field in France itself, the young levites of the Jesuit Order preferring to volunteer for the missions of the Orient rather than those of New France.[33] Far fewer missionaries came to Canada during the eighteenth than during the seventeenth century. Then, because of the success of French exploration there now were many more calls to be met by those who came—priests to serve among the Abenakis of Acadia, the Montagnais of the Saguenay region, the Iroquois south of the St. Lawrence basin, the Hurons, Potawatomies, and Ottawas of Detroit and the vicinity, the scattered missions of Louisiana and the Illinois. All these, as well as the full-fledged college at Quebec, had to be staffed by the Jesuits who came from France. Premature old age and ill-health occasioned by the hardships of missionary life shortened the span of useful service of many, and necessitated securing frequent replacements to maintain the existing labours. It is a wonder that any thought of adding a new mission in the west should have been entertained at all.

But in 1741 when La Vérendrye was once more allowed to renew his quest, so strong were his importunities that he be accompanied by a missionary, that the hard-pressed Jesuit Superior at Quebec yielded to his suit, and sent Father Coquart to serve as chaplain to the expedition, and resume the task Father Aulneau had been prevented from fulfilling.

Claude-Godefroy Coquart was born in 1706, and joined the Jesuits in Paris in 1726. He was ordained at the famous college of La Flèche, probably in 1738, and after spending two more years at his studies, came to Canada in 1740.[34] Another Jesuit, Father Pierre du Jaunay, missionary at Michilimackinac, had volunteered to undertake the work Father Aulneau had planned to do among the Mandans, but his presence was considered necessary among the Ottawas, whose language and ways he already knew. Hence the younger missionary, who as yet had everything to learn about the Indians, was appointed to accompany La Vérendrye.[35]

When Father Coquart arrived with the explorer at Michilimackinac during the summer of 1741, he was prevented from going further west. La Vérendrye tells us why: "During the stay I was obliged to make at Michilimackinac, jealousy of Father Coquart arose and prevented him from coming on with me to every one's regret, but most of all to my

33. Rochemonteix, C. de, *op. cit.*, I, 144.
34. *Ibid.*, I, 288 (note 1).
35. Morice, A. G., *op. cit.*, I, 58-9.

own."[36] Rochemonteix and other historians have found no explanation of this "jealousy", though L.-A. Prudhomme states that La Vérendrye received orders to leave Coquart behind.[37] He conjectures that it was the explorer's creditors at Montreal who were jealous; they used all the old calumnies against the Jesuits as pretexts lest the priest should influence La Vérendrye too much to divert his attention from trade to exploration, and thereby lessen the chances of getting returns from their investments. Be that as it may, it is certain that in 1741 Father Coquart did not accompany the explorer further west.

But before the close of that year the missionary did go as far as Kaministiquia. Though we have no exact record of when this journey was made, it was certainly before the November freeze-up of the waterways. That he wintered at Kaministiquia is evident from a phrase in a letter sent on September 24, 1742, by the Marquis de Beauharnois to Maurepas, Minister of the Colonies at Versailles: "Father Coquart, who has passed the winter at Kaministikwia, wrote me on May 26th . . . "[38] This letter of May 26th from Coquart to Beauharnois was very probably written at Kaministiquia itself, for in a second letter to Maurepas, dated October 12, 1742, the Governor states: "Father Coquart, returning from the post of Kaministikwia, writes me on the ninth of last month . . ."[39] The implication is clear that Coquart's second letter to the Governor was written shortly after his return from Kaministiquia to Michilimackinac. We do know that Coquart was at Michilimackinac on August 15th, 1742, for on that day he pronounced his solemn vows as a professed member of the Society of Jesus there. Therefore we may say without risk of error that the missionary was at the site of present-day Fort William between the autumn of 1741 and June or July of 1742. During that winter he no doubt occupied himself as had Father Mesaiger a decade previously, ministering to the French traders and the Indians who resided at, or visited the fort, and perhaps travelled to the Nipigon and Rainy Lake posts to enable the men there to perform their Easter duty.

The commandant at Kaministiquia at that time was the fourth of the famous La Corne brothers, François Josué, Sieur Dubreuil. He had been given special instructions to establish peace between the local Indians and the Sioux. And apparently Coquart's chief duty at Kaministiquia was to assist him to achieve this objective. But, according to the priest's letters to Beauharnois, their efforts were to no avail, for in the first he had to report that La Colle, an Ojibwa war-chief of Rainy Lake, had organized an attack against the Sioux, while in his second letter of September 9, 1742, Father Coquart referred to several attempts he had made at Kaministiquia, or possibly at Grand Portage, to prevent another

36. Margry, P., *op. cit.*, VI, 594.
37. "Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, 1685-1749" in Royal Society of Canada, *Memoirs*, Second Series, 1905-1906, Section I, 47.
38. Burpee, L. J., *op. cit.*, 380.
39. *Ibid.*, 382.

treacherous attack that was being planned for the following winter. As the Governor reported in his letter of October 12 to Maurepas:

> Father Coquart, returning from the post of Kaministikwia, writes me on the ninth of last month that Sieur de la Vérendrye's men being at Grand Portage, the Saulteurs of that post came to hold council with an Indian chief of that place who possesses much influence; that this chief told him last spring that it was intended to make a descent on the Sioux, that he had represented to them several times that this was going directly against my orders; that the result nevertheless of the different councils held was that the Saulteurs of point Chagouamigon . . . were to assure them during part of the winter by living on good terms with them, so that the Sioux, considering themselves to be at peace and having no suspicion, shall all of a sudden find their enemies on their hands. The chief in question, with the tribes from Nipigon, Kaministikwia, Tecamamiouen [Rainy Lake], the Monsoni, Cree, and Assiniboin are to fall on them and create all the carnage they can . . .[40]

The priest's later career does not concern us here, but we may remark in passing that in 1743 he went at last to La Vérendrye's post at Fort la Reine which was situated near the present-day Portage-la-Prairie, Manitoba. He was therefore the first priest to visit any part of the Canadian Northwest beyond the Lake of the Woods. But he remained there for one winter only. We do not know why he was recalled, and the work for the Western Indians not even begun. Most of his later life Coquart spent on the Montagnais missions in the Saguenay region, and at other posts on the lower St. Lawrence. It may be assumed, therefore, that the need of help with older missions already undertaken, rather than the beginning of new ones in the west, was the real reason for his recall. Father Coquart worked among the Indians the remainder of his life, and died at Chicoutimi in 1765.[41]

During the final years of the French Regime only one other priest visited the western territory. This was Father Jean-Baptiste de la Morinie, S.J.[42] During the summer of 1750 he travelled west with Jacques Repentigny Legardeur de St. Pierre, the second of La Vérendrye's successors in charge of the "Posts of the Western Sea". But after spending a most trying winter practically alone with St. Pierre at Fort la Reine ill-health forced him to leave the prairies in the spring of 1751. He was the last

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40. *Idem.*

41. For further details on the life of Father Coquart, see "Le P. Claude-Godefroy Coquart, S.J., premier apôtre de la Rivière Rouge", by Judge L.-A. Prud'homme, in *La Revue Canadienne,* 1897, 81 et seq.

42. Jean-Baptiste de la Morinie was born in Aquitaine in 1704 and joined the Jesuits in 1725. He arrived in New France in 1736 and was sent to Detroit a year later. Entries in the parish registers show that he stayed at Detroit for two years, after which he was stationed at St. Joseph's River mission on the southeastern shore of Lake Michigan. On February 2, 1741 he made his solemn profession of vows at Michilimackinac. After his winter in the northwest he seems to have returned to St. Joseph's mission and to have remained there till 1761. In that year, reduced to destitution, he retired to another Illinois mission. Expelled from the Louisiana territory in 1763 along with the other Jesuits, he made his way down the Mississippi to New Orleans and returned to France in the spring of 1764. See *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* XX, 13 et seq., and *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* XVIII, 474 (note 6).

priest to be seen till 1818 in all the territory north and west of Lake Superior that constitutes the modern Diocese of Fort William.

History is more often the record of startling visible events or of results achieved than the story of a long train of human efforts, frequently intermixed with many failures, that has led up to them. Yet in the long view which many historians take it is often found that apparent human failures have contributed greatly to ultimate success. This is especially true of religious history where true accomplishment is not to be measured by visible effects. Nothing substantial or permanent seems to have come from the missionary endeavour we have been trying to describe. Yet the testimony of numerous mid-nineteenth century missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, bears witness to the fact that a kind of tradition and the latent memory of the Black Robes, led, together with other causes, to a great expectancy on the part of the northwestern Indians of the coming call of the spirit, and a singular readiness to accept the teachings of the Gospel.

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Secretaries of affiliated societies are requested to make certain that the information respecting their societies is correct and up-to-date. We urge that notification be sent as soon as possible of changes in officers and addresses so that we can keep our list of affiliated societies and museums up to date.

THE DIARY OF HENRY RANSFORD

Introduction by Mrs. D. H. McInnes

Mr. Melville Ransford, son of John Ransford and grandson of Henry Ransford, knowing I was interested in local history, loaned me his grandfather's diary. It was handwritten and had every appearance of being old. I would judge that some incidents were written immediately after they happened, but the bulk of it, at the end of each year.

While the diary was in my possession Mr. Ransford passed away. This was in the year 1947. At that time there were no known living relatives and as I was leaving Clinton, Ontario, I gave the diary to a member of the Women's Institute. She, in turn, gave it to Mrs. I. M. Willis, who bought the house (Stapleton) with its 17 acres. This place is on No. 8 highway, in Tuckersmith Township, Huron County, about one half mile east of the town of Clinton. I visited Mrs. Willis (a very charming lady) last spring. She says she has the diary but at the moment could not lay her hands on it.

Nothing is known of Henry Ransford's childhood, but from the diary it would appear that he was brought up in a well-to-do home in or near Bristol, England, called "Stapleton". His diary covers the years from 1823 to 1881, apart from some years following his return to England.

At the age of eighteen Mr. Ransford went to the Isle of Jamaica, where he worked on a coffee plantation as bookkeeper. Two years later he was given full control of a 600 acre sugar cane plantation. He held this position for five years and at the end of that time was receiving 800 pounds per annum. When he requested to buy the estate outright and was refused he returned to England. Then he made up his mind to go to Canada, as there was a great urge for emigration to that country. A neighbour, Edward Ledyard, and he prepared to leave the following spring. What followed is told in his own words:

On the 1st of April, 1832, we left Liverpool on a fine New York liner (900) tons with 33 passengers in the cabin and a great number in the steerage. Fare was 35 guineas — 12 went to the owners and 23 to the captain, who kept a first rate table and plenty of wines and liquor. We landed in New York on May 1st. On the whole we had a fair passage, except for two days, 10th and 11th, when we had heavy gales from the S.W. and the ship pitched and tossed. Like many others I kept to my bed most of the time. We fell in with several ice bergs and the weather was very cold and ice formed on the deck. We spent a fortnight in New York and visited Philadelphia, Boston and Washington.

From New York we started for Canada on the 16th of May. Up the river to Albany, thence to Schenectady, by the only railroad in America, where we took passage on a canal boat to Skanialetes, where we had letters of introduction and spent 2 or 3 days there looking at farms, then on to Rochester, where we left the boat and took a stage to Niagara, which we reached on June 2nd. After spending 3 or 4 days we crossed

over to York, a place with one decent tavern, called the Mansion House and some 5-6000 inhabitants. I hired a wagon at 4 pounds a day to take us to Goderich, but it broke down before we went a hundred miles—at that time not a house or an acre of land cleared. I found Constant Van Egmond working on a road that was being cut through the bush. From him I hired a front wheel for the wagon and a team of oxen and by this means reached his father's house in Hullet, from whence we walked to Goderich. On the way I saw an ideal piece of land and I was so pleased with it I spent a few days examining it and determined to buy and settle here.

Finding I could do nothing with Mr. Prior, the agent at Goderich, I hired a horse and on the 23rd of July I left for York. I was four days getting to Hamilton, where I took the stage to York, where I found the cholera was raging. (It carried off one fifth of the population). I therefore took up the land I wanted from the Canada Company and hurried back to Goderich. I left on the 30th and was five days getting back and by the time I reached Reed's tavern (Goderich), I felt very ill and had to lay up for a couple of days.

Having rested and recovered I walked down to see my land (3400 acres) and had a regular exploration for 3 or 4 days. I engaged rooms at Van Egmonds where we remained over a month, exploring my land to find the best site for a house and trying to get men to clear a few acres, but no men were to be had.

While remaining here Edward Ledyard, a Mr. Bennett and I, walked to London to spend a day and returned. Only one hotel in the place. We returned to Goderich and on Sept. 1st left in the Canada Company's schooner for Detroit, which we did not reach until the 5th. Mr. Taylor, an agent of the Baron de Tuyle, was our fellow passenger. He had been looking up land in the vicinity of Goderich for the Baron and had chosen a much better block.

We now took a steamer to Buffalo which we reached on the 8th. Buffalo was a small place. Following day we took a stage to Niagara, crossing the river at Black Rock in a horse boat, then down the Canadian side to the Falls, where we spent Sunday and went to church at Chippewa. On Monday we took stage to Fort George, where we embarked on a boat for little York, which we reached in the evening and took up our abode at the Bristol Coffee House. The cholera had made bad ravages since I left on July 30th, 670 persons having died out of a population of 4000. We remained here until Sept. 14th, being delayed by the Canada Company, as I would not leave until I had got all my deeds.

On the 15th we left by steamboat, United Kingdom, for Kingston, where we arrived the following morning. On the 19th we left by steamer for Brockville passing through the lake of the 1000 islands, and reached there at midnight. We embarked on the 21st on a bateau for LaChine but only reached the head of the Long Sault at dusk where we had to go ashore to sleep. Off next morning and reached the head of the rapids as it was getting dark. The men not knowing where they were, we remained in the bateau all night and right glad to reach Montreal next morning. Breakfast and then church and enjoyed our day's rest.

On Tuesday eve, left by the Chamblee steamer for Quebec where we remained until the 29th, where finding no good vessel was leaving for England, returned to Montreal by an immense steamer called the John Bull. On arriving, crossed the river to La Prairie and took passage to St. John, where we took steamer up the Richelieu river and Lake Cham-

plain to White Hall, where we went by canoe to Troy, where Edward Ledyard left to go to Ohio and I to New York.

I took passage in a fine new steamer called the George Washington. We were only 13 days from Sandy Hook when we sighted Skellig's Rocks and narrowly escaped being wrecked. It had been foggy for three days. Getting a little clearer the Captain asked me to go up the foremast and look out. I immediately saw on ascending three sugar loaf-shaped rocks some 5 or 6 miles off. I instantly came down and told the Captain (Holdredge). He immediately kept the ship at S.E. By this time the fog closed on us again. We rounded Cape Clear and reached Liverpool on the 23rd. and went direct to my father's house for the last time. Passage was 29 pounds sterling. Spent Xmas at home and visited Ledyards, who were displeased at not having brought Edward home. He returned safely later.

1833 — On a visit to Henley-on-Thames I met a Miss Richardson, a niece of Mr. Bolton. We soon got to be friends and on Feb. 7th, I offered and was accepted. In the spring I took passage on the Independence — 29 days to New York. From New York I steamed up the Hudson and took canal boat to Lockport, then by stage to Vanderburg's tavern in Tuckersmith, close to my land. This journey took a fortnight. I, at once, hired a man to clear my land. I fixed on a pretty spot overlooking the river (Bayfield) on lots 39 and 40. I marked out 10 acres and got 3 or 4 cleared so I could build the frame of my house and sowed some 3 acres in clover and grass. I hired a handy man, Jack Hamilton, a good heaver and he and I raised the frame of my house and got on a roof and shingled it. I agreed with him to chop 6 acres the following winter, get out timber for a barn and plant an acre in potatoes. Vanderburgh promised to sow 6 acres with spring wheat after the Irishman fenced in the cleared land.

I also bargained with a carpenter called Freeman, to floor the house, get on the siding and make the windows (but none of which he did.) I boarded at Vanderburg's all this time and saw many who came up to settle. Having done all I could I returned to England arriving late in November.

During my absence Mr. Richardson had returned to England from New Orleans, where he had suffered from the cholera. He left again before I returned but had given consent to his daughter's marriage with me. He died on the trip back to New Orleans.

1834 — Married Jan. 23rd, at the Henley church by the Rev. James King. Mr. Bolton gave away the bride. Took a three weeks honeymoon. I had many things to look after and to pack for our future residence. I engaged Thomas Walker with his wife and four children to go with us as servants. We left the London docks first week in May, by same ship I had gone out in, in 1832. Had a good passage for 28 days but my wife suffered so much from sea sickness I thought she would die.

Our fellow passengers were Admiral VanSittart, wife and two sons (lived in Woodstock later). We remained 3 or 4 days in New York and visited my wife's aunts, Mrs. Curtis and Mrs. John Bolton. We had to go up the Hudson on a goods steamer having all our things with us. At Albany we transferred them to a canal boat which took a week before we reached Buffalo on June 14th. We had to wait at Buffalo a day for a small steamer which took us to Port Stanley. At Port Stanley we hired

wagons to London but they would not go further, believing the roads to be impassable and they were not far wrong.

At London I found a man to undertake the job but the roads were in a dreadful state. The third day we got as far as Widow Connor's, a small tavern in the N.W. corner of the township. Here we slept and the next A.M. hired a horse for my wife to ride as the wagon jolted her so much. This day being the best, as we went 14 miles in 13 hours. Half the road was swamp and once we turned over and a precious job we had to right the wagon and the load up again. At one place we had to cross a narrow, deep creek. We found 3 or 4 logs by the bridge had floated away, so we carried them back and laid them across the stringers and so got the wagon over.

In the evening, we arrived at a log house in Usborne, kept by a Devonshire man, named Balkwill, where we got something to eat and a place to lie down. On one side of the house was a raised platform, the whole length, covered with bedding of some kind, divided by curtains into 4 or 5 beds. The next day we reached Vanderburg's corner, This was the 22nd of June and thus ended a journey of seven weeks from London, England.

Next A.M. I walked down to Stapleton (named after my old home) and there to my dismay, although the wheat, grass and potatoes were all growing well, the carpenter had done nothing but put on the siding at the east side of the house.

There was nothing for it but to sleep at the tavern and hurry on the carpenters. We got all the siding on, the lower and half the upper floor laid, the doors hung and the unglazed sashes in, when, owing to the discomfort of the tavern, we moved in.

We lived in the south side of the house and the Walkers in the north. They spread their beds on the west side under the upper floor and I and my wife slept on the half upper floor which we reached by a ladder I had made.

Our kitchen and fireplace was a large hemlock stump outside the house. Our dinner table was a cherry board, six feet long, on the top of a flour barrel. For chairs we used our trunks and boxes and the piano case made a capital cupboard. I procured 2 cows immediately and had milk and butter. I went to Goderich and bought a churn, milk tins and a stock of groceries.

I then divided the lower story into four rooms and glazed the windows. I had bought a yoke of oxen and a wagon.

The wheat was nearly ready and I had to build a barn, or rather, a shanty and cover it with bark as no shingles were to be had. The harvest was very troublesome owing to continual thunder storms which ruined half my wheat.

To obtain lime for plastering we dug a hole in the bank of the river, hauled limestone and burnt sufficient lime to give a good coat of plaster to the inside of the house, which of course had to be lathed before. I had brought out trowels and did all the plastering with my own hands, Thomas mixing and bringing all the mortar to me. Fortunately a man by the name of Carter had made a small kiln of bricks so that I was able to procure some to build a chimney.

Building the chimney was also a big job, as I had to make a stone foundation, some ten feet square and four feet high. The stones had to be brought up from the river and some small boulders we found on

the land. Clay worked up substituted for mortar and fully answered the purpose. I was lucky to get a bricklayer, Jerry Atkins, an uncle of Mountcastle.

After cutting a hole through the roof for the chimney it set in to rain and snow and I had to sit over it with an umbrella for 3 or 4 hours, so that the man should not stop working. In the meantime we ran short of hair for the mortar and so I chopped off my own hair and mixed it in, so as not to delay the work.

The evenings were getting cold and only those who have gone through the same labour and anxiety can enter into the feeling of delight when a blazing fire went roaring up the chimney and we all sat around it and enjoyed it. The fireplace was made none too soon, as the weather was too cold to continue cooking outside at the Hemlock stump.

I had only completed the plastering 2 or 3 days when my wife was confined on the 25th of October. Thomas Walker was sent off to Goderich, on foot, (18 miles) for a doctor, who rode back just in time. I had to lend him a suit of clothes, as he was wet through from head to foot.

There was no end of journeys to Van Egmond's mill, up the Bayfield river. These journeys were tiring as I left home early in the morning and often did not get home until after dark, as I was often detained by others getting there before me, to have their wheat ground.

I sold 2 lots of land to a man named Townsend and he partly worked out the value in clearing my land in the winter of 1834-35. By this means my cows and oxen had good brousing all winter on the tops of the trees, as they were cut down. I made some wild hay on the river flats and that I used to take up for the oxen when I went to the mill. It was 16 miles from my home to Reed's tavern in Goderich so when I went there I had to go one day and return the next. In the summer by leaving early I could return the same day. Very few oxen could travel like "Ball and Iron".

1835 — First week in April I sowed my spring wheat to the east of the house and had a very good crop. Snow fell to a depth of 2 or 3 inches just as I finished dragging the land.

Thomas Walker and I raised a better barn. Got on the rafters, boarded and shingled it as well as boarding up the sides and hanging the doors.

In May I cleared the ferns and nettles, quite six feet high, from the meadow across the river — ploughed and sowed with timothy and following summer it yielded 5 tons of hay.

We found Harriet (Mrs. Walker) and the children troublesome living in the same house with us so I sold lot 18 to Thomas and the neighbors helped him to raise a shanty and put on a bark roof. On June 27th the Walker family moved in.

Now I had to hire a man called Cluff (an Irishman) to help with all the work, there was to be done. I also had to devise a bedroom for my father, who arrived Aug. 25th, to live with us.

I had some Swedish turnips on the new land and had a capital crop but had a hard time harvesting them because the snow came early in November that year.

With the help of a carpenter, McLeod, I had got my barn floor and all the upper floor of my house finished before December as well as the cattle shed floored and roofed, but many a cold finger job I had.

On Christmas day, 1835, we had a regular plum pudding. Mr. Potts and Hanson, our doctor, joined the party.

1836 — On Jan. 7th, after a pressing invitation, Frances (my wife) and I went to visit the VanSittarts at Woodstock, where we spent a pleasant fortnight. They were much more advanced in civilization, having plenty of money, than we were. We took our baby with us and our servant, Elizabeth Scott.

On Feb. 23rd, our boy, Henry Benwell, was born. Mrs. Scott, a nice old Scots lady looked after my wife this time.

Edward Ledyard came out in June and bought 2 lots of mine on the London road and lived with us while he was clearing his land and putting up his buildings.

This year, 1836, I harvested 112 bushels of wheat, 27 of barley, 160 of potatoes and 120 of turnips and beets so there was plenty of food for the household and stock.

1837 — Expecting to settle money matters with the Boltons (My wife's mother's people) I left Jan. 17th for New York, which I did not reach until Jan. 28th, having to travel the whole way over snow in a public sleigh. It was a very tiring journey, stopping every 7 or 8 miles to water the horses, get warm and liquor up, which several of the passengers did, every time we stopped.

Uncle Bolton lived on 19th street, New York, and it was beyond the city, in the fields, with only four houses any way near. I settled with the Boltons for between 4 and 5 thousand dollars, but I lost the greater part of it by Mr. Fisk's advice, investing it, in the Morres Canal Co., which failed and Mr. Aspeniwall, my broker, neglecting to sell out, as I had told him.

I had a better journey home, as I bought a Buffalo robe and wrapped myself in it.

On arriving home I bought a pair of horses, Polly and Charlie, so that going to the mill and to Goderich was a pleasure. The ploughing was easier too.

On June 26th our third child was born and named after her grandmother, Frances Bolton. Hanson, a young English medical man attended my wife.

My crops were good this year. 120 bushels of fall wheat, 117 bushels of spring wheat, 122 bushels of barley, 210 bushels of potatoes, 70 of oats, some 300 bushels of turnips and mangels and 8 tons of hay.

After this we lived well, having plenty of everything and all raised on the farm except (tea and sugar). I sold wheat I did not require, in Goderich and also some 80 lbs. of maple sugar and understanding the process I made a nice granulated sugar too.

We spent Christmas day, 1837, with Mrs. Webb, of Goderich.

1838 — Oct. 2nd, fourth child, Richard, born. This year farm yielded 175 bus. wheat, 140 of oats, 250 of potatoes, 40 lbs. wool, sold at 37 and one half cents per lb. Flour from wheat grown $105.

1839 — This year exchanged some lots in Hullet for a lot of 64 acres, close to the town of Goderich, on the Maitland concession.

1840 — Feb. 21st, I engaged a house of Mr. Campbell's, the rector, which he had built on his glebe, 3 miles out of Goderich. Moved in March 3rd. July 1st, our son, Robert Bolton, was born and our friend, Mrs. Webb, came out from Goderich and stayed until my wife was strong again. On

the 21st of July my father left by steamer to Detroit on his way to New York for England, to end his days with my sister Caroline. Last 12 months he had lived at Mountcastle's tavern and Reeds at Goderich. He died at Henley-on-thames, Feb. 14th, 1843.

All this year I was working hard building a house on a lot near Goderich, which I called Clifton. After the frame was raised Thomas Walker and I did all the principal work, except laying the floors and making the doors and window sashes.

1841 — Moved into my house in March. Things were much improved here, no flies or mosquitoes, close to Goderich to get anything we wanted. Also had several friends to visit. We knew and visited: Hyndmans, Lizars, Goths, Acklands, Webbs, Browns, Hamiltons, Campbells, McKenzies, Kinneares, Morgans, Ledyards, Mercers, Jones and Comoniss.

I still retained Thomas Walker as day laborer and a Mr. Gosman took over the farm at Stapleton.

1842 — Daughter was born Jan. 1st, Maria Gifford, on a very stormy night. In Feb. I was appointed County Treasurer and had to go to Toronto for the large books to keep the county's accounts and lists of land owners. Travelled by way of London, Woodstock and Hamilton. Passengers, as well as mail, were taken in a common, rough wagon, with boards laid across the sides for a seat. Roads were frozen hard and bumpy. Journey took 26 hours.

1843 — Made the house Clifton more substantial. My wife and I attended to the education of our children, teaching them reading, writing and mental arithmetic.

1844 — Jan. 28th, son Gifford was born. On Sept. 4th of this year left for England and nearly got ship wrecked on the way.

1845 — In Feb. I left Liverpool for Halifax. Thomas Mercer Jones was a passenger. Attended to my duties as a treasurer for the county. The duties were light as well as the salary. A Mr. Welch, in England and my brother-in-law wished me to come back to England and be the manager of a rice starch business.

1846 — Feb. 24th, Eugenie was born. Sold all my furniture and cattle, preparing to return to England. Let my house to John Haldane.

We left the first week in April, in two wagons. My wife and children in one and all our trunks and baggage in the second, on top of which I had to seat myself.

It was a rough journey, sleeping the first night at Seaforth, second at Stratford and the third some house in Wilmot, reaching Hamilton on the 4th day. Next A.M. embarking on a steamer to Niagara Falls, from thence we went to Lockport, where we boarded a canal boat. Arrived at Albany where I got all removed to a large river boat. Arrived next A.M. in New York. There left our trunks and took Frances and the children to Pelham Priory, the residence of her uncle and aunt Boltons, where we rested for nearly a week, much to the benefit of my wife and a delight to the children. (I actually wore out the seat of my new pair of trousers between Goderich and Hamilton, sitting on top of the luggage as best I

could). My wife and children had comfortable seats in the wagon, but it was hard work for her as she had to carry the baby in her arms the whole way.

The trip across the ocean would have been very enjoyable because the weather was calm, but the children developed scarlet fever. We landed at the London docks May 11th. Just 12 years since we left, just a young couple and now returning with 8 children.

On arriving I took over as manager of the Starch works at White Chaple.

In 1866, when digging for oil, salt was discovered near Goderich, on the Maitland river, just to the east of the bridge, in Colborne Township, Huron County. On hearing of this discovery, Mr. Henry Ransford directed his son, Richard, who was living at Stapleton, to sink a well and make a contract to go down 1200 feet. At 1172 feet they came upon pure rock salt. This was the second salt well in Canada. Thereupon Mr. Ransford came over to supervise the work and on August 11, 1868 a fire was lighted and boiling commenced and on the 18th, salt was sold to a farmer. Later a second salt block was built and a small village sprang up in the vicinity of the salt blocks, consisting of cottages for some of the workers. Also a salt store, a saw mill, a heading factory and a stave and hoop factory. Barrels were turned out to ship the salt and at the peak about 200 persons were employed.

Mr. Henry Ransford made three trips to Canada after salt was discovered, the last time with his sister Caroline, in 1879. He passed away in the 80's.

The Stapleton Salt Works lasted until the year 1918. The factor that closed the works and many other salt wells in the district was the shrinking of the wood lots, as no fuel could be found as cheap as wood to make salt making pay.

Mr. Henry Ransford's two sons, Richard and John, spent the greater part of their lives in Canada. Richard married a Clinton girl, the former Florence Hale, granddaughter of Mrs. Sarah Hale, the American authoress and editor of the *Lady's Magazine* and *Godey's Lady's Book*. He lived for some time at Stapleton, while his brother John lived in one of the cottages on the estate. Later Richard lived in Clinton and John and his wife (the former Kate Bache of Plainfield, N.J.), spent the rest of their lives at Stapleton.

After the death of John Ransford in the 1930's, Stapleton, with all its beautiful furniture, was left neglected for a decade, when his son Melville came home. He, too, passed away in 1947 and after a sale which attracted antique dealers from miles around, Stapleton was sold to its present owner, Mrs. I. M. Willis.

FOUR WENT TO THE CIVIL WAR

By Lois Darroch Milani

Primary records of the experiences of Canadian soldiers who fought in the American Civil War are rare. The letters that follow were written by four brothers who enlisted early in the conflict. Their names were Alfred, Alonzo, Jasper and Newton Wolverton of the village of Wolverton in Oxford County, Canada West. They were written to their older sister, Roseltha, who took the place of the mother who had died a few years before, leaving a family of two daughters and five sons. They are now in the possession of the writer of this article, a granddaughter of Alonzo.

The father of the brothers, Enos Wolverton, had come to Upper Canada at the age of 16 with his father, Robert, in the year 1826. Around 1817 Robert had been an itinerant Baptist preacher in New York State. Subsequently he had moved to Ohio where he operated a line of stages from Cleveland to Sandusky, and when this had proved unprofitable the family moved to Michigan where they boiled salt for a time. In 1826 Robert and part of his family of nine including Enos and a brother Asa (who later built some of the fine old homes in Paris, Ontario) came to Canada West and settled on a farm on Governor's Road, on the line between the counties of Brant and Oxford.[1]

In 1834 Enos married Harriet Newel Towl, of Vermont and Burton Township, New York State. Their first home was on the second concession of Blenheim Township. It was known as the "Long House" because the log structure contained the veranda-bordered house at one end, the carriage shed in the middle, and the stable for the horses at the far end. Here their seven children were born, and were tutored for a time by a governess brought from England. Here also was installed an organ with wooden pipes built by a German organ maker in Paris. The two daughters, Roseltha and Melissa, learned to play and sing in the current parlour manner and the education of all seven was begun.

In addition to farming, Enos took contracts for road building. During the profitable years for agriculture associated with the Crimean War he accumulated sufficient money to build a four-storey brick house on the 200 acres of land containing part of the Nith River which he received as a government grant in 1844. This was on the eighth concession, Blenheim Township, where the village of Wolverton still remains. The brick for the house was hauled in wagons from Hamilton, probably as a return load for the sacks of wheat that were taken down. The rooms on the second floor were arranged in suites. A circular staircase was built with-

1. "Anecdotal Biography of Dr. Newton Wolverton", by his son Alfred, privately printed, n.d.

out the use of nails to spiral upwards through the three storeys to the glass cupola which comprised the fourth.

But misfortune soon fell upon the family. In 1856, the mother died and in 1858 came an economic crash as an aftermath of the Crimean War. The family found it necessary to rent the big house (it accommodated no fewer than five families at one time during their absence) and move to Walsingham, near Long Point, Lake Erie, where they built a steam-operated saw-mill. Here the second son, Daniel, died. In 1857 he had gone to Toronto to the Normal School, and after six months' attendance he had received a certificate qualifying him to teach in any elementary school in the province of Upper Canada.[2] The qualifications of entry were not stringent: sixteen years, good character, ability to read with expression, write legibly, and knowledge of the four simple rules of Arithmetic. But Daniel was never to use his training. He had been chopping wood when the broad-axe glanced off a knot, slashing his calf. He was nursed back to health and was even beginning to walk again. One night his father woke up with a feeling of apprehension and dashing to the bedroom above he found that the wound in Daniel's leg had opened and he had bled to death in his sleep. He was eighteen years old.

The brothers did not like the hard life at Walsingham. The urge to get a better education had been instilled in them by their parents. Therefore it was decided that Alfred, Jasper and Newton would move to Cleveland to attend school, to sell the lumber from the saw-mill, and to build houses. Alonzo would remain in Walsingham with the father to help run the saw-mill.

That is the reason why the earliest letters in the collection were written from Cleveland, June 16, 1860. Alfred writes: "I did not get here till the term was one third gone, and I have had hard work to keep up with the class. Jasper and I are trying *very* hard to get in the high school at the close of this term. We study, with all our might, from four in the morning until eight at night, and then take an hour's exercise before retiring . . . . Newton gets along very well with his studies. He is in the second class." The second half of the letter was written by J. Wolverton, Esq., the esquire being 16 years old! "This term will close in about two weeks and then we will be examined for the high school . . . If we do not get in the high school now, we cannot have another chance for a year . . . . It is nothing but study from morning till night, mostly practical arithmetic, and as one of the scholers[3] told the teacher, 'they worked in figures all day, and dreamed about figures at night.' " They passed their entrance examinations and during the summer vacation built a house worth three thousand dollars and a good-sized wagon house for their horse and buggy. In September they "commenced going to the High School and are *determined* to stand second to none. . . . We attend Sab-

2. This certificate was presented to the Library of the Toronto Teachers' College.
3. All spelling and punctuation is direct from the letters.

bath School every Sunday morning at 9 o'clock at the Baptist Church. I teach a class and the other boys are in the Bible class."

While the youths continued their studies momentous events were happening. The exciting contest for the presidency ended with the decisive triumph of the Republican party's candidate, the rail-splitter from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. Secession of a number of southern slave states followed, then an uneasy calm as the nation awaited the federal government's action. With the shelling of Fort Sumter in April, 1861, the die was cast and along with hosts of others, three young men at school who happened to come from Upper Canada were caught in the maelstrom of civil war. Newton records in his diary[4] in April: "Was dismissed to see the Grays off to Washington." The next day he "staid to meeting for organizing Military Corps and was appointed chairman of committee to draft a constitution." (This young man was fourteen). In the evening he went to the Lyceum, evidently for some literary meeting, and during April and May he mentions drilling with the Home Guard and Union Cadets. On June 15 Jasper writes, "The military excitement in this city is very great . . . Of a class of about 27 in the High School only Alfred and I passed in all the studies, last examination . . . . Very little business is going on in the city, and it is yet in mourning for Ellsworth and Douglas."[5] On July 4, Congress called for 500,000 men and on July 20 the three Wolverton brothers could withstand the war fever no longer and enlisted. Alfred was 22, Jasper 17 and Newton 14 and a half. On that day the troops were being drawn up for the first battle of Bull Run.

The next three letters, July 21, are written hastily on one sheet, a little from each brother. Newton says: "I do not go as a common soldier, but as a teamster with the baggage waggons however I think we shall be with the army about all the time. We go from here on the cars to Harrisburg and thence to Hagerstown, Maryland, and we do not know where next but probably south farther. —We go for three years unless 'Uncle Sam' is through quarreling by then." Jasper writes: "You will no doubt think it strange that we should all go off south but we think it is the best we can do at present. If we should remain here we could not go to school only a few months at the farthest and after that it is probable that we could not get into any business here until the times get better and by going now we can, if not unfortunate, clear $500 or $600 a year and be enabled to go to school on our return. Where we are going we shall in all probability be in *no danger* at all; and certainly very little as we do not go with the advance troops. It will not be long before you again hear from your affectionate brother." And Alfred concludes: "The news of a terrible defeat has just reached us. Do not feel anxious for us." That was the defeat at Bull Run when the southern forces sent the northern army fleeing to the safety of Washington.

4. The diary is in the possession of Roseltha's grandson, Dr. Harold Goble, formerly of Penhurst Farm, just west of Woodstock, now on the staff of the Ontario Agricultural College.

5. Ephraim Ellsworth who on May 24, 1861, was shot by a hotel-keeper in Alexandria for lowering a Confederate flag flying over the hotel, and Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's great political antagonist, who died June 3, 1861.

Back in Canada, Roseltha, who had recently been married and gone to live on a farm at Gobles' Corners just east of Woodstock, was writing in her diary: "I feel anxious for my brothers, my dear, dear brothers. They are all, except Alonzo, at school in Cleveland and I hear getting on well with their studies especially Jassy and Newton . . . . God bless and keep from temptation my darling motherless brothers. I can pray for them."

A week later the young soldiers mailed three letters from Camp Crossman, Hagerstown, Maryland. Alfred tells of a railroad accident just outside Pittsburgh: "We left Cleveland on the morning of the 23 of July and slept that night on the downy side of a plank at Pittsburgh. We had a dreadful accident at Pittsburgh. The railroad bridge at that place broke down entirely destroying several passenger cars. There was 52 persons in our car en route for the army. Two of them were killed two jarred so bad that they will probably die . . . There is a report that the pay is to be raised to $25 a month. I have secured, through the influence of Cleveland friends, the position of captain of a supply train and will probably go to the seat of war before long. I get $40 per month. The danger is nearly as great as it is in the ranks. A great many of those who came with us have got very homesick. Some of them intend returning immediately. We intend to leave when we can't stand it any longer. I get up between three and four o'clock and go to bed at 10 or 11. It is the severest place I ever was in. Jasper has got a four horse team in my train and Newton will probably have to take one soon . . . We are within 30 or 40 miles of the fighting . . . We hope to return in a year."

Jasper, July 28, 1861: "The camp . . . . is only about as bad as Walsingham. I have got my team which is one of the best in camp and am expecting soon to be ordered out, probably to Harper's Ferry . . . There are many secessionists here, I should think almost as many as there are loyalists."

And Newton, the youngest, says: "The change of climate and watter makes a good many sick . . . . Hard times, hard fare and hard work in camp! We have orders to prepare to go somewhere and I do not know where in two hours."

Evidently the order to move was revoked as the next group of letters is dated August 7, still from Camp Crossman. Alfred describes the country: "This is glorious country. Never before have I beheld nature dressed in such buteous robes. The lofty mountains, envelloped in a mantle of dense foliage, appear to reach the clouds. Surely the iron heel of the war-horse should never desecrate so lovely a portion of the world of nature. But amid all her loveliness, the noble Maryland, one of the earliest homes of religious liberty throughout the world, is struggling within the grasp of a giant monster that will, untill discarded, cripple all her noblest energies and loftiest aspirations. Slavery *will* fetter the energies of any people. No sooner do we come within its precincts than its influence is seen and felt." Newton adds: "The country around here is very old. As I was out with the team I saw an old barn with the date of 1646."

A week later Alfred's postmark is Frederick. "Dear Sister Rose:

As I have a few spare moments I will employ them in writing to you. We left Hagarstown on Friday evening last, for Fredrick, twenty six miles

distant. We encamped a short distance from our starting place, for the night, and in the morning took an early start for our place of destination. Our route lay through the most beautiful country that I ever beheld. At eleven o'clock we halted for dinner on a level spot near the sumit of the Blue Ridge Mountains. At two o'clock we stood upon the sumit and gazed upon the most enchanting scene within this state . . . . The beautiful valley, through which we had just come, extending to the North West ten or twelve miles, and nearly surrounded by a lofty range of the mountains, seemed dressed in a fairer robe than nature generally bestows. Light fleecy clouds silvered by the bright rays of a southern sun, floated between us and the opposite hills. Farm houses, situated on well cultivated farms, resembled the most costly city structures; and villages, whose lofty spires glittered in the rays of the sun, combined to render it unequalled in beauty and to fill the beholder, if a "lover of nature", with the most pleasing emotions. That night we encamped within six miles of Fredrick, and the next morning (Sunday) got into town about eight o'clock. In the evening all three of us and one of the teamsters went to church. Our dress, for church, consisted of gray pants and shirt, felt hat, and red blankets. We attracted some attention. Fredrick is a very pleasant city of about nine thousand inhabitants. The Legislature adjourned a few days before our arrival. We are about forty-seven miles from Washington, forty from Baltimore and nineteen from Harper's ferry. We do not know how long we will remain here. We are liable to be ordered out at any time. We have a very pleasant time now, considering it is camp life. We go to some farm house and buy some bread and milk every day and by that means get along very well with our "rations". I have been furnished with a tent where I sleep in rainy weather. When it is fair I sleep out on the ground with my saddle for a pillow and my blanket for a covering. The teamsters sleep in their wagons. Jasper drives a four horse team and Newton is a kind of an assistant whose duty it is to drive if any of the teamsters are sick and to help wherever he is wanted. He does not have to do much. Our wagons are very large and covered. We use four horses to each wagon and the driver rides one of them. I have a horse to ride and Newton rides in the wagon. I have only eleven teams under my charge at present but expect to have it increased to twenty five.

From your brother
Alfred."

Jasper adds: "We have no uniforms and buy our clothes which can be got here as cheap as in Cleveland . . . . There are many slaves here, also many free coloured people . . . . "

By August 31 they were in Wagon Park, about five miles from Washington, within sound of the cannonading. Jasper says: "We have many rumours here. First G. McClellan[6] had driven the enemy out of Manassas, then one of our regiments had been attacked and cut to pieces by the secessionists, and again the enemy were attacking Washington."

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6. Major-General of Ohio militia (13 regiments) who had already established control of northwestern Virginia, though the South had moved its capital to Richmond in May. In August he was made commander of the Army of the Potomac and in November commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. Later he was dismissed from this command and in 1864 became the Democratic candidate for the presidency.

Washington had become one vast armed camp, with the Confederate troops seeking to prevent reinforcements reaching it from the northern states so that they could capture the capital itself. After Bull Run both sides devoted their energies to consolidating their positions; there was little heavy fighting during the remainder of 1861, only skirmishes and continuous attempts to ascertain the strength of the enemy.

"Camp Ross, Aug. 31st, 61.

Dear Rose,

My last letter to you was mailed on the road from Fredrick to Washington. We left Fredrick on the 22nd inst. for this place. It was a very disagreeable journey. During the first day it rained very hard. At night I was dispatched through the mud and rain six miles to carry dispatches to another company. The road was very dangerous and I was heavily armed. But a few nights afterwards nearly a whole regiment was cut to pieces on the very same road. We reached Washington on the 24th, and encamped on monument lot. The Washington monument is erected on this lot. It is about 175 ft. high and is intended to be, when completed, 500 ft. high. . . . Since we came here we have been transferred to a larger train—numbering one hundred and ten horses and thirty-two men. I hold nearly the same position that I did before and get the same pay. As orders have just come for me to report to headquarters I will have to close. Write very often.

From your brother
Alfred

P.S. Excuse my poor writing. I have to write on a horse bucket."

Two weeks later they were still in Wagon Park. Alfred, September 15: "On Monday we drew our pay amounting to $90. Yesterday we sent $80 to Cleveland . . . . to apply it on the Cleveland debts."[7] They had had leave to visit the city again and this time entered the Capitol. "We visited the Senate chamber and Hall of the House of Representatives;[8] sat in the Speaker's chair and declaimed to an immaginary audiance of legislative dignitaries . . . Jasper and I went to church yesterday on horseback." They were living according to the teaching of their grandfather, Reverend Robert Woolverton, as he is styled in the 1853 Canada Directory.

The regiment to which the boys were attached was the 50th New York Infantry, but when they arrived at Washington they were transferred to the Quartermaster's Department. It was government policy to keep ammunition wagons as far from the fighting as possible but frequently it became necessary to rush ammunition to the front in order to save a battle. On one occasion Newton was driving a load of ammunition when one of the horses in his team was creased by a bullet and bolted. Somehow he managed to stop them before the ammunition exploded. On another occasion when ammunition was urgently required the wagon train made a forced march of over sixty hours. Half the horses and a

7. These were business debts incurred while building the houses.

8. One of the Wolvertons who remained in the States, Charles Wolverton, has sat in that house as representative for the state of New Jersey for the past 15 years.

quarter of the men who rushed the material to the front perished as the result of the desperate attempt to save the capital.

After that march, Alfred wrote that Jasper was in the hospital:

"Washington, Oct. 4th/61/

Dear Rose,

It is some time since we heard from you. We wrote to you about the 16th of last month, but as yet have received no reply. I have very bad news to communicate to you. Jassy is sick. He has been in the Hospital three days and is continually growing worse. He has the *Typhoid fever.* I fear that he will have to suffer much and lay many weeks before he will be able to be out. The Doctors say he will be sick a month. I will probably have to throw up my position to attend him. They are very kind and attentive at the hospital. If I thought he would be any better off I would procure a place for him in some private house and get the city doctors to attend him; but I think that he is better off where he is. Rest assured all that *money* and *attention* can affect will be accomplished. I have been in Virginia twice with a supply train of one hundred and ninety two horses. I have it very hard while on the road with so large a train. Newton is well and hearty. Jassy's sickness makes me feel very depressed. The doctors will not let me be with him much; they fear excitement. He has been out of his head the most of the time for the last two days. He knows me when I go there; but soon commences talking about some great fight or about his team. I shall not leave him until he is better. We are now encamped in the city. We saw the smoke of battle and heard the "deep-mouthed cannon's roar" this afternoon. A large balloon was described hovering over the field of strife. It is late and I must conclude. Write soon. Jassy frequently speaks of you and father. If it was not so far I would like to have you come and see him.

From your Brother
Alfred."

On October 12, Jassy died at the age of 17 years, 10 months, three months after he had enlisted telling his sister not to worry for they would be in no danger. West High School draped its hall in black, and the Cleveland Daily Herald, October 23, 1861, printed an obituary mentioning him as the best scholar in the city, kind and affectionate to his friends, modest in his nature. The sketchy boyish diary which recorded his forays into the country after hay ends on September 26. The final entries are in the fine handwriting of his sister Roseltha:

"October 12. Died among strangers and far from home but not alone. A dear generous-hearted brother (Alfred) resigned his position, watched by him and ministered to his wants till he breathed his last, embalmed his body and brought him 600 miles amid difficulties and dangers to the home of his childhood, that surrounded by loved ones and friends he might be laid in the tomb with his sainted mother and young brother . . .

October 20. He was laid in his grave. The Rev. M. H. Candor preached an appropriate sermon from the words, "Fight the good fight, lay hold on eternal life"."

The family had moved back to Wolverton and Jasper Wolverton lies in the little country cemetery inside the iron rails that surround the family plot, beside his father, mother, and brother Daniel.

After the funeral Alfred returned to Washington via Cleveland. The people in Cleveland were so kind to him that he could hardly carry away their presents. He was evidently accompanied by Alonzo, three years his junior, who had completed the building in Cleveland. Alonzo worked in the Quartermaster's Department for a time and then returned to Cleveland to enlist in the 20th Ohio Artillery.

After a three week period in hospital, Newton had also been assigned to the Quartermaster's Department. Sometimes he was offered bribes to pass inferior stores. One consignment he had rejected managed nevertheless to get through. An investigation was ordered and if he had not managed to produce his duplicate invoices marked "Refused, N.W." he would have been jailed along with those who had accepted the bribe.

In November, 1861, the British vessel *Trent* was stopped by a Union warship and two Confederate passengers were removed. War threatened to erupt between the North and Britain. Newton Wolverton's biography by his son[9] relates that the fifteen year old boy was appointed spokesman of a committee of Canadians to approach the President to tell him that they had not enlisted to fight against their Mother Country. The President replied, "Mr. Wolverton, I want you to go back to your boys and tell them that Abraham Lincoln appreciates the value of their services, and that so long as Abraham Lincoln is President, the United States of America will not declare war on Great Britain." Now old soldiers have been known to embellish stories, and sons to stretch them even longer. However this episode is not at all out of keeping with the precocious talent for leadership that Newton had already displayed, nor with his subsequent career as teacher and minister.

Meantime the terrible see-saw of the war continued. President Lincoln called more than once for volunteers. Newton Goble, their sister's brother-in-law, enlisted and for a short time in April, 1862, was stationed in the camp adjoining theirs. His factual diary records his fighting at the battles of Culpepper Valley (August 11, 1862), White Sulphur Springs, (August 29 and 30), Middletown where General Lee's son was killed (September 14), and Antietam, Maryland, the battle which ended the first Confederate attempt to invade the North (September 17). The passage of one hundred years dulls remembrance of old hatreds, but the swiftness of these events indicates the vicious passion of the war.

Alonzo returned home for some months and Alfred, writing on his brother's birthday, February 14, 1863, inquires about him and concludes, "My heart's affection teaches me that the strongest—almost only—tie I have on earth is that which binds me to the loved ones at home." Early in 1863 Alonzo had returned, this time to St. Louis, and was moving southward with the drive by which the Union Armies, commanded by General Grant, had cleared a path to the mouth of the Mississippi, splitting the Confederacy in two. In March Alfred, writing from Washington, is ill,

9. Alfred Wolverton, *op. cit.*, 28.

worn out from the winter rigours: "I try to take everything cheerful and to think that, perhaps I am but performing my part in the vast machinery of the Universe. Still I have my moments of despondence; but I try to crown them with the garland of Hope, and soothe my hours of gloom with the balm of contentment. I should very much like to come home this summer but cannot without losing my place."

His unwonted gloom was a true foreboding of the future. There were to be no more letters from Alfred of the lofty thoughts and descriptive pen and the mature script with artistry in the curling capitals and manhood in the deep down strokes. On April 25, 1863, a note from Newton says, "Alfred is dead; I cannot get his body under any circumstances whatever. He died very easy. I can write no more now."

The story of his death is told in Newton's diary:

"April 15. Alfred worse, symptoms of small pox. Went again for Dr. Magruder but he did not come . . . . April 17—Broke out very thick . . . Slightly delerious. April 18—Alfred much better this morning—quite rational. About 9 o'clock he told me to take a book (Rules and Regulations of the Quartermaster's Department) to Mr. Garner and get a receipt which I did and was not away more than ten minutes. When I got back he was gone—had dressed himself and left. He broke open his chest with an axe, and took all his money, $297, leaving only $20.60 . . . "

Newton secured a horse and searched everywhere, railroad station, White House, to 20th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, all the hospitals, without finding him. At dusk Alfred returned, delirious, without money, saying he had given it to a friend to keep for him. Newton took him to the hospital, where for five days he was allowed to see him only through the window. When he went on April 24, Alfred was not there. He was dead and buried, another of the estimated 224,586 men who died of the disease during the Civil War.

As was the custom after smallpox deaths, the remains had been transferred hurriedly to a wooden box and buried under a small wooden marker in a pauper's burying ground. His young brother found through an undertaker four men who had had smallpox, and bribed the caretaker of the cemetery with five dollars to forget to lock the gate that night. They re-buried the box in a decent casket in Glenwood Cemetery in the middle of the night. There Alfred rests in Grave No. 67, with a cedar branching over the stone which Newton secured the next day.

Still the war was barely half over. The Union forces had pushed Johnny Reb back almost out of Arkansas and Tennessee and held control of the Mississippi to its mouth. But still the Confederate capital remained menacingly at Richmond, within hailing distance of Washington. The boys' father, Enos, came down to Washington to collect the back pay of the two dead sons and bring the youngest home with him. In June, 1863, Newton received his discharge and returned to Canada where, he recorded in his diary, the first work he obtained was that of carpenter at 25c a day and board.

One brother, Alonzo, was left in the war. His final discharge certificate gives the date of his enlistment (presumably for a second time) as January 12, 1864. Alfred's letter of March 1, 1863 stated that Alonzo had left Canada and had written him from Rolla, Missouri, and that he was expecting to start for Springfield, about 300 miles south of St. Louis, with a wagon-train at $60 a month. Evidently Alonzo worked with the Army for nearly a year without enlisting formally.

It is known that Alonzo was in the battle of Lookout Mountain in November, 1863, just outside Chattanooga, a railway centre and key point for entering Alabama, Georgia and the Carolinas. The Confederates held the top of the mountain; Union supplies were running short because roads were rendered impassable by autumn rains. One section of the struggle was known as the Battle of the Clouds. As the soldiers fought high on the steep slopes, they looked down at the clouds which were raining on the city below. It was a Union victory.

There are two letters only from Alonzo. Not realizing their potential historical value, his wife destroyed many of his letters after their marriage when servant girls in the house pried into them to extract parts for village gossip. The envelopes bear the return address of Lieutenant Alonzo Wolverton, Nat. D. 9th U.S.C. Art. (Heavy).

The first was written from Chattanooga, Feb. 27, 1864:

"My dear sister,

I received your letter yesterday evening and am much obliged for your prompt answer to my last letter. We are still at Chattanooga and the probability is that we will remain for some time to come. There is not much excitement here at present with the exception of rebel deserters who are flocking in by the hundreds, something over two thousand have come inside of our lines, at this point, since I came here. If they continue to come in as they have for two or three months longer, I do not think we will have many "Rebs" to fight. Our troops had quite a sharp skirmish day before yesterday on the old battle ground at Chickamauga[10] quite a number of the wounded arrived here last evening. Troops are leaving here daily for the front. I think you will hear of a hard battle before many days. Chattanooga was about the size of Brantford before the war, but there are but few buildings left, most all have been either burned or torn down. There are about twenty families living here and they are supported by the Government. There are no stores and the "Sutters" charge just what they please for their goods. Butter is worth 85 cts per lb, cheese 75 cts, Tea $3.00, Eggs 60 cts per Doz, and everything else in proportion, so you see it is out of the question for a soldier to indulge in many luxuries at $13 per month. I suppose you are having cold weather way up there in Canada, while we are having splendid summer weather down here, all I am afraid of is that when you are having your nice weather, we will be suffering with the heat. Gen. Thomas[11] tells us to keep up a good heart for we will be on our way *home* by the fourth of July, but "I can't hardly see it". We have been busy the last two weeks in fixing our camp, putting up shades and getting in readiness for the

10. Union defeat, September 19-21, 1863.
11. He had been the Union General at the Battle of the Clouds.

warm weather. If we should be fortunate enough to remain here during the summer we will have good times. I mailed a letter to Father the same day that I mailed your last, but have not yet received an answer. I am writting to Newton and Lissa [Melissa, second oldest sister] today as well as yourself. Do not let Newton go to St. Louis by any means, it is the worst place in the world for him to go. Is Father going to Cleveland in the spring to live, if so Newton had better go to school. I will pay his board and clothing bill for one year. It would be cheaper and I think better than at Woodstock, and besides he might be able to help Father some if he went into business there. Please answer as soon as convenient you don't know how much good it does a soldier to get letters from home. Kind regards to all the folks. I still remain your affectionate brother

Alonzo"

The war would not be over by July 4, but rail communications to Richmond were being inexorably cut off. By May Sherman was moving from the vicinity of Chattanooga against General Johnston, and his superior force had pressed its way into Atlanta. On July 18, Johnston was replaced by Hood, but no change in leadership could save the South now. Hood too, though fighting desperately, was forced backwards through Georgia. General Thomas, mentioned in the letter above, was sent to guard railroad communications in case Hood invaded Tennessee. In August the Confederate fleet was destroyed in the harbour at Mobile and General Grant moved back towards Savannah. In November Sherman started his famous march to the sea.

Alonzo was wounded severely once during the war. He lay unconscious on the battlefield all night. In the morning, revived by the warmth of the sun and opening his eyes to blue sky, he thought at first that he was in heaven. A stretcher party making a last search over the field saw him stir and rescued him. It is not known whether he was saved by Yanks or Rebs.

He was imprisoned twice and again few details are known. The first time he escaped in his underclothes with a companion and made his way back to his own regiment. The second time was in the autumn of 1864 at Villanow, Georgia, south of Chattanooga. Conditions in the camp were so bad that when they heard that they were going to be moved to an even worse one he and his companions were contemplating suicide. But on October 15, 1864, a hurried release was given them. The men were lined up with such speed to receive their discharge papers that they were not even allowed to sign their names, but were ordered to make an X and get along. Alonzo put his X to the following pledge: "I, A. Wolverton, being a prisoner of war in the hands of the CSA, do solemnly swear that I will not bear arms against the Confederate States or aid or assist any one so doing until regularly exchanged." Evidently the harrassed Confederates no longer could spare the men to guard prisoners and maintain camps so close to the fighting front. The prisoners could have been slaughtered; instead they were freed after giving their word of honour that they would not rejoin the fighting until southern prisoners

in equal numbers were released. But the Northern forces were pressing into service every available man for Sherman's March to the Sea, and as the next letter shows, did not allow the freed soldiers to keep their pledge.

The last letter was written December 4, 1864, in camp two miles from Nashville, three weeks after the big push had begun:

"My dear sister,

I should have written sooner but it has been impossible. We have been moving from place to place and building breastworks as well as fighting occasionally so that I have had no time to do anything. I expected when I wrote to you last that I should soon be north, but the Government would not recognize our Paroles so we were ordered to report for duty, in the meantime the Battery had left Chattanooga and I started for the Battery on the 30th of October and joined it at Pulaski on the 6th of November where we remained till the 23rd when Hood flanked us and our army had to evacuate the town. We marched to Columbia where we fought them three days. There was no very heavy fighting chiefly artillery duelling. Again Hood forced us to move further north as far as Franklin where we arrived on the 30th at noon and our Generals determined to make a stand, and threw up breastworks, at four o'clock the Rebs came on to us in full force and there ensued one of the hardest fought battles for the time it lasted there has been since this war commenced. The rebs determined to conquer or die they made thirteen desperate charges, several times they planted their colors within ten feet of our cannon and our men would knock them down with their muskets or the artillerymen with their sponge staffs or handspikes. Our Battery was in the centre the very hottest of the fight we lost nearly half of our men and came out of the battle commanded by a sargeant, I never dreamed that men would fight with such desperation. I never expected to come out alive but was fortunate, I was struck twice once in the cheek the ball just grazed my face and cut through the skin it bled freely but did not amount to much, and once in the hip the ball cut through my pants drawers and shirt and made a slight wound but not enough but what I attend to my duty. About ten o'clock the rebs withdrew and our army started for Nashville bringing the wounded along but the dead were left lying. I never realized before what a battle was. The roar of musketry and thunder of artillery was deafning. it was full as dark ten minutes after the battle commenced as when it ceased. the only way we could tell when night came was by the stars. Hood is now within four miles of us but I do not think he will venture to attack this place he got whipped to bad at Franklin.[12] I can form no idea what our loss was but it was heavy and the rebs must have lost four times as much as ours the ground was covered as far as I could see with their dead. I will write again in a few days when I have a better chance and give you full particulars.

Your brother

Alonzo . . . "

The young lieutenant's letter showed a comprehensive knowledge of the whole campaign. Two weeks later Thomas attacked Hood's entrench-

12. On November 30, Federal Forces under command of General Schofield, decimated Hood's men.

ments in front of Nashville and practically annihilated his army. They were the same armies that, Alonzo said, would sometimes trade newspapers across streams between engagements. On April 2 Davis left Richmond and on April 9 Lee surrendered 28,231 starving and tattered men, all that was left of the Army of Northern Virginia. In August, 1865, Lieutenant Alonzo Wolverton received his honourable discharge and returned to the big house in Wolverton.

There he lived till he died in 1925, being storekeeper, postmaster, flour mill owner, and host and kindly critic to numbers of young ministerial students who were sent to the village church as supply ministers from Woodstock Baptist College. Newton, who joined the Canadian Militia after his return home, saw further action in those troubled days. At the time of the St. Albans Raid he was sent to the border, and in 1866 his Battalion, the 22nd Oxford Rifles, went to Sarnia against the Fenian threat. At the age of 24 he started back to school to complete the education that had been interrupted for a decade. Partially subsidized by his older brother, he graduated in Mathematics from University of Toronto seven years later and then studied for the Baptist ministry. For a time he was Principal of Woodstock College, and in 1907 he was awarded an honorary LL.D. by McMaster University.

We have related much of what is known of these four Canadian brothers and a brother-in-law. The total number of Canadians who fought in the American Civil War will not likely ever be found. The latest consideration of that controversial point is to be found in an article by Robin W. Winks in *Canadian Historical Review* for March, 1958. He does not give much credence to the widely quoted figure of 40,000 men, but so far no one can put forth any other.

Historians may ask why these young Canadians served at all in a war that was not their own. It could be argued that since their father and grandfather had come to Canada not from ideological convictions but out of a desire to improve their lot the young men may simply have been returning to aid the land of their first allegiance. But a letter of Jasper's of June 1, 1861 refutes this implication: "I hope you spent the Queen's birthday pleasantly. In Cleveland that day is the same as others and nothing more". Again, Newton's stand at the time of the Trent affair is further corroboration that they regarded as their native land the one that flew the British flag. They might also have enlisted only to collect bounty money. Patrick Slater in *The Yellow Briar* tells of the brisk trade in bounty running which was carried on across the Lakes towards the latter part of the war. A conscripted American would pay from $300 to $2,000 for a substitute. Some lake captains would take across a group of young men who would join, collect the bounty, desert that night, be picked up at an appointed rendezvous in the dark, and be home in time for breakfast. Slater banked $1,870 one summer after the captain had his share.

The real reasons the four Wolverton brothers served in the Civil War were several. They were definitely interested in the anti-slavery aspect of the war but they were also aware that the true reason for the conflict was the states' rights question. They needed money in depression times to get the education they craved. Twenty-five to sixty dollars a month looked big to young men who were offered twenty-five to fifty cents a day at home if they worked for some one else, or who risked the danger of failure if they tried an independent business. They were also influenced by the war fever in Cleveland in 1861, and later on, Alonzo seemed motivated by love of adventure, for he did not stay with his brothers in the quartermaster's department in Washington but headed South for the campaigning there. Whatever their individual reasons for fighting may have been, they endured with integrity to the end.

BOOK NOTES, SPRING, SUMMER, AUTUMN 1959

Belcourt, Guillaume. "Les Luttes Scolaires de l'Ontario-Nord (*Rélations,* XIX (223), Juillet 1959, 175-77); and "Situation Actuelle des Canadiens Français de l'Ontario-Nord" (*Rélations,* XIX (224), Août 1959, 205-07). The educational and cultural problems of the French Canadian residents of northern Ontario, by a professor at the University of Sudbury.

Bishop, Olga. "Checklist of Historical Works on Western Ontario in the Libraries of the University of Western Ontario: Elgin County" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XV (2), June 1959, 19-27); "Brant and Perth Counties" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XV (5), September 1959, 11-24).

Bodsworth, Fred. "The Backwoods Genius with the Magic Pen" (*Maclean's,* LXXII (12), June 6, 1959, 22, 32, 38-40). Ernest Thompson Seton became interested in natural history during his boyhood on a farm near Lindsay and in rambles in Toronto's Don Valley. After training as an artist at the Ontario College of Art he won fame as a painter of wild life by 1893.

Brighton Centennial Book Committee. *Centennial of the Incorporation of the Village of Brighton, 1859-1959.* (Brighton: The Committee, Frank E. Goodrich chairman. Printed by Tri-County Publications Limited, Trenton. 1959. Pp. 90, illus.). Brighton was the name chosen when the settlement of Singleton's Corners was incorporated in 1859, by which time it had grown into a prosperous shipping port and a station on the Grand Trunk Railway and the provincial coach road. Includes accounts of local industries, institutions, societies and organizations.

Bullock, F. J. *Ships and the Seaway.* (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Limited. 1959. Pp. x, 115, illus. $3.95). A brief survey of the Seaway, the ports, and the various steamship companies operating on the route.

Canada. Public Archives of Canada. *Collections of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society: Preliminary Inventory.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1959. Pp. 127. $1.00). The third of a series of inventories of local history collections made by the Public Archives in collaboration with regional historical societies. Included in the inventory are papers

of William Bell (1779-1836), the Benson Family (1794-1899); Thomas Willet Casey (1793-1910); the Roblin Family (1818-73); John Stevenson (1833-84); the Napanee Municipal Council (1853-1905). The documents are housed in the Historical Museum, County Memorial Building, Napanee, and a copy on microfilm is available in the Public Archives, Ottawa.

Canada. Public Archives. *Report on the Public Archives for the Years 1955-1958.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1959. Pp. 63). Dr. Lamb reports on the establishment and operation of the Records Centre, opened in 1956, on the more important documentary acquisitions, the map and picture divisions, museum, Laurier House, library, and publications.

Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Region. *Toronto Jewry 60 Years Ago.* (Toronto: The Congress, 150 Beverley Street. December 1958. Pp. 4, mimeo.). An excerpt from the Toronto Mail and Empire of September 25, 1897, believed written by W. L. Mackenzie King.

Careless, J. M. S. *Brown of the Globe: The Voice of Upper Canada, 1818-1859.* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1959. Pp. viii, 354, illus. $5.00). The first volume in the definitive biography of the Scottish-born publisher who founded *The Globe* in Toronto to support the Reform Party in March 1844, and whose personality and strong views on public questions of the day made him an important figure in Canadian politics and leader of Canada West's Clear Grit or Liberal Party during the 1850's.

Clark, S. D. *Movements of Political Protest in Canada, 1640-1840.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 518. $6.50). Includes the pre-1812 reform agitation in Upper Canada (Chapter XI), the War of 1812 (Chapter XIII), and the unrest between 1815 and 1840 in Chapters XVI ("The Rebellion Movement in Upper Canada") and XVII ("The Collapse of the Liberation Effort").

Creighton, Donald G. *The Story of Canada.* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1959. Pp. 291, illus. $3.50). A short, colourful and highly-readable history of Canada from discovery to the present that utilizes great resources of scholarship yet remains capable of being enjoyed and appreciated by the general reader.

Croft, Frank. "Hamilton's Marvelous Mountain" (*Maclean's*, LXXII (15), July 18, 1959, 20-3, 43-4). "Streets of Canada: James" (*Maclean's*, LXXII (22), October 24, 1959, 24-5, 95, 100). Descriptions, illustrations and stories of the important Hamilton street.

Cuneo, John. *Robert Rogers of the Rangers.* (New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. 308, illus., maps. $7.00). The eventful life of the noted ranger and British officer who organized Rogers' Rangers in the Seven Years War against France and the Queen's and King's Rangers in the American Revolutionary War. He took the French surrender of the west after 1760 and for a time commanded various posts for Britain but was removed and tried for treason.

Curry, Ralph L. "The Unknown Years of Stephen Leacock" (*Maclean's*, LXXII (14), July 4, 1959, 20-1, 45-7; and LXXII (15), July 18, 1959, 26-7, 34, 36-9). The early life of the teacher-economist-humorist in the Lake Simcoe district and at Toronto during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Curry, Ralph L. *Stephen Leacock: Humorist and Humanist.* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1959. Pp. 383. $4.95). The completed biography of the celebrated teacher, public lecturer, and writer on things economic, historic and humorous—of which the preceding articles were extracts.

Dorian, Charles. *The First Seventy-Five Years: A Headline History of Sudbury, Ontario, Canada.* (Ilfracombe, Devon: Arthur H. Stockwell; available from the author, 549 Bayview, Sudbury. 1959. Pp. 300, illus. $3.50). A history based on the files of local newspapers and presented by topics and years, with the accent upon interesting and curious episodes and individuals.

Gates, Lillian F. "The Decided Policy of William Lyon Mackenzie" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XL (3), September 1959, 185-208). Mackenzie was surprisingly consistent in his advocacy of reforms in the land and banking systems, the legal administration, education, the public service and the legislative process, showing a strong affinity to the ideas of British radicals and of Jacksonian democrats.

Gundy, H. P. "The Adam Shortt Papers" (*Douglas Library Notes*, VIII (1), May 1959, 1-4). A preliminary inventory of the papers of the noted economist, civil servant, writer on historical subjects and co-editor of the monumental 25-volume *Canada and Its Provinces*, who died in 1931, and whose papers have been deposited in the Douglas Library, Queen's University.

Hamil, Dr. Fred C. "American Recruits for the Invasion of Windsor" (*Detroit Historical Society Bulletin*, XV (6), March 1959, 7-14). After months of disorderly behaviour in Detroit the Patriot Hunters attacked Windsor on December 4, 1838 only to be driven off by the local defenders, "leaving more than a score dead on the field". Of the 44 invaders who were captured several were hanged or transported to Van Diemen's Land. Whiskey and promises of free land provided the main incentives for the Patriots though anti-British sentiments and an idealistic hope of liberating the Canadians played a part in recruiting some of the men.

Hamilton, Milton W. "Joseph Brant Painted by Rigaud" (*New York History*, XL (3), July 1959, 247-54). The State of New York has acquired another painting of Brant ("The Most Painted Indian") which is believed to be a copy of a painting of the Mohawk chief made in London in 1786 by John Francis Rigaud. The author surmises that the original was brought to Canada in 1790 and was displayed at Brant House, Burlington (which has since been destroyed by fire), where the American writer William C. Bryant had a copy made after a visit in June 1872.

Hamlyn, Rupert G. *Bowmanville: A Retrospect.* (Bowmanville: Centennial Committee, care of Bowmanville Chamber of Commerce, Box 1240. 1958. Pp. 80, illus. $1.00). The community that grew up following the arrival of settlers in 1794 was known as Darlington Mills. In 1824 Charles Bowman purchased the general store and a large part of the real estate in the settlement which in consequence was generally called Bowmanville. In 1853 the name became official when the village was incorporated, and with continued growth Bowmanville became a town in 1858. The stories of various enterprises, institutions and societies are also included.

Heinrich, Theodore A. "Royal Neighbour" (*Museum News*, XXXVII (4), June 1959, 8-15). The achievements and future plans of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, which has been visited by over 11,000,000 persons since opening its doors in 1912.

Higginson, T. B., editor. "Two Early Letters from London" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XV (2), June 1959, 9-18). The letters are from John Cole to his brother Heber in England (May 5, 1828) and

of William Magee to his daughter Jane in Ireland (May 12, 1852), and deal mainly with personal matters.

Hills, T. L. *The St. Lawrence Seaway.* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959. Pp. 157, illus. $2.50). A perceptive inquiry by an associate professor of geography at McGill University that combines geography, history and economics to examine the past, present and future utilization of the navigation and power potentials of the St. Lawrence River.

Hitsman, J. Mackay. "Spying at Sackets Harbor, 1813" (*Inland Seas*, XV (2), Summer 1959, 120-22). Commodore Chauncey arrested an American civilian on suspicion of advising the British to attack Sackets Harbor while Chauncey's squadron was occupied with the capture of Fort George on the Niagara frontier. For lack of evidence of treason, however, Chauncey had to release his prisoner.

Keith, Thomas. "Little-Known New Sarum, Elgin County" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XV (2), June 1959, 1-8). The village, founded in the 1820's, never grew into the city its promoters had predicted, and its greatest population, reached around 1870, was only 200 persons.

Klinck, Carl F. "The Cacique of Ontario" (*University of Toronto Quarterly,* XXXIX (1), October 1959, 21-32). In 1776 William Richardson, a Shakespeare scholar and Latin Professor at Glasgow College, published a romantic tale set among the Indians of southern Ontario. The story was published in 1786 and 1789 in pirated editions (once under the title "The Cacique of Ontario") and in 1790 Richardson adapted his story for a poetic play entitled "The Indians: A Tragedy".

Lavallee, Omer S. A. "The Railway Stations of Toronto" (Canadian Railroad Historical Association *News Report 100*, May 1959, 51-58). The various stations and terminals from 1853, when the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Union Railway opened its line from Toronto to Aurora, to 1927, when the third and present Toronto Union Station was dedicated by the Prince of Wales.

Lewis, Jennie Raycraft, compiler. *Birr and Beyond.* (London, Ontario: Middlesex Printing Company for Birr Women's Institute. [1959]. Obtainable from Mrs. Clarence Raycraft Lewis, RR2, Denfield. Pp. 176, illus. $2.00 in hard covers, $1.00 paper). A history of London Township, Middlesex County, from pioneer days to the present—the story of surveys, agricultural settlement, roads, industries, villages, schools, churches, the Women's Institute, etc.

Lower, Arthur R. M. "Udawah's Stream" (*Queen's Quarterly*, LXVI (2), Summer 1959, 203-16). Thoughts about the Ottawa River and its role in Canadian history—"liquid history . . . not much honoured by the people who possess it".

McNeely, Elizabeth, and M. Verne, compilers. *The McNeelys of Carleton Place on the Mississippi River, Lanark County, Ontario, Canada.* (Toronto: M. A. McLean and Company, 88 Richmond Street, for the authors. Pp. 23, mimeo. 50c). The descendants of James McNeely who emigrated to Beckwith Township near Carleton Place from County Antrim in 1820; intermingled with Scottish and British Israelite genealogical lore.

Manning, Mrs. M. and Jones, Rev. T. D. *A Village Library: The Story of the Streetsville Library, 1854-1959.* (Streetsville: W. G. Tolton, printer. 1959. Pp. 24, illus.). Through the interest of a group of residents a Mechanics' Institute was incorporated in 1854. By 1881 the 1,425 volumes were being housed in a room of the Oddfellows Hall but in 1902 a building was secured and the collection, now under the direction of the village council, became the nucleus for a free public library.

Massey, Right Honourable Vincent. *Speaking of Canada.* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1959. Pp. xii, 244. $5.00). A selection of 45 addresses which the author delivered before various audiences during seven busy years as Governor-General of Canada (1952-59) and which reveal his abiding interest and insight into the history and culture of his native province as well as of the dominion and the commonwealth.

Masters, Donald C. *A Short History of Canada.* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company; and Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. Anvil Books. 1959. Pp. 191. $1.35). An 80-page historical survey followed by 25 documentary excerpts illustrative of Canadian life through the centuries.

Minden Centennial Planning Board. *Minden Centennial, 1859-1959.* (Minden: The Board, Norman Maiden president. 1959. Pp. 103, illus.). Settlement of the district began in 1858 but by 1866 the village included 188 ratepayers. Lumbering, the first industry of this section of Haliburton County, has been eclipsed by tourism. Histories of public and private institutions, societies and agencies are included.

Moir, John S. *Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 223. $4.75). Following a very useful outline of the complicated sectarian pattern of Canada West, the author investigates the protracted controversies over clergy reserves, a provincial university, and a public elementary education system—matters in which governmental policy decisions were framed in response to fierce denominational passions and countervailing pressures.

Murphy, Rowley W. "The Welland Canals" (*Inland Seas*, XV (5), Fall 1959, 172-79). The story of the building and improvement of the various Welland Canals which since 1829 have allowed freight to move by ship from Lake Ontario to the upper Great Lakes.

Myers, Frank A., compiler. "History of the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Little Current, Ontario" (*Inland Seas*, XV (2), Summer 1959, 88-96; XV (3), Fall 1959, 222-32; to be continued). In 1856 the Hudson's Bay Company decided to move its post from La Cloche on the mainland to Little Current in order to maintain closer contact with the Indians who were being drawn to Manitoulin Island by the presence there of free traders, missionaries and the Indian Superintendent. Objections by the missionaries led the provincial government to cancel permission for the transfer.

Newman, Peter C. "The Streets of Canada: The Driveway" (*Maclean's*, LXXII (16), August 1, 1959, 18-20, 48). Descriptions, illustrations and stories of the scenic Ottawa street.

Ontario Historical Society, Museums Section. *Workshop Weekend, Brantford, October 3-4-5, 1958.* (Hamilton: The Section, c/o Mrs. Gwen Metcalfe, Dundurn Castle Museum, Dundurn Park. Pp. 40, mimeo.). Summarizes the reports and papers presented and business transacted at the Workshop.

Pembroke Centennial Publicity Committee. *The Pembroke Centennial Souvenir Book.* (Pembroke: The Committee, Gordon Archibald chairman. Printed by the Pembroke Observer. 1958. Pp. 157, illus.). The centre of a fur trading, lumbering and farming district, the community sprang up by 1834, became a village in 1858, and a decade later, having become county seat and a railway centre, was incorporated as a town. Includes histories of local institutions and organizations.

Philips, Alan. "The World's Busiest Gambling House" (*Maclean's*, LXXII (18), August 29, 1959, 11-3, 46, 48-9); and "The Rough-and Tumble World of Penny Stocks" (*Maclean's*, LXXII (20), September 26, 1959, 22-3, 68-70). Stories of the Toronto Stock Exchange and of mining promotion and promoters.

RAIC Journal, Number 405. (XXXVI (5), May 1959). The Royal Architectural Institute of Canada greeted the Queen's visit to the Seaway by a group of articles on the historic and artistic qualities of the region, including: "Settlement of the Old Eastern District of Upper Canada" by Marion MacRae (p. 145-7); "Military Operations on the Upper St. Lawrence" by Richard A. Preston (p. 147-8); "Power Development and Rehabilitation in the Valley" by Kenneth H. Candy (p. 155-6); "Preservation of the Heritage of the Past" by Anthony Adamson (p. 165-6); "Ontario-St. Lawrence Parks" by M. L. Hancock and D. W. Pettit (p. 167-8), etc.

Reeds, Lloyd G. "Agricultural Regions of Southern Ontario, 1880 and 1951" (*Economic Geography*, XXXV (3), July 1959, 219-27). In 1880 occupation by agriculture of southern Ontario was virtually completed and both the area of farmland and farm population were greater than in 1951. Nevertheless overall farm production has risen in the interval, thanks to improved agricultural techniques, mechanization and specialization.

Reid and Boulton Publishing Company, Montreal. *St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Projects, 1959.* (Montreal: The Company, 1508 Mountain Street. 1959. Pp. 415, illus. $10.00). The history of the Seaway, descriptions of construction, harbour dimensions, along with biographies of politicians, civil servants, executives and companies concerned with building, maintaining and utilizing the waterway.

Reynolds, Arthur G. "The White Chapel, 1809-1959" (Records and Proceedings of the Committee on Archives of the United Church of Canada, *Bulletin*, XII, 1959, 26-31). The Chapel, located near Picton, "has been maintained continuously as a place of worship longer than any other church of Methodist origin in Ontario". It is also known as the Conger Chapel from Stephen Conger, Methodist preacher and Justice of the Peace, who donated the site for a burial ground and chapel as early as 1794.

Riddiough, Norman. "The Village that Rose from the Flood" (*Imperial Oil Review*, XLIII (3), June 1959, 7-13). The Upper Canada Village project, "a living monument to the time when British colonial life struggled into flower along the St. Lawrence", being created by the Ontario-St. Lawrence Development Commission.

Sanderson, Charles R., editor. *The Arthur Papers, Being the Papers Mainly Confidential, Private, and Demi-Official of Sir George Arthur, K.C.H., Last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. Volume 3, April 1840-June 1850.* (Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries and University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. iv, 605. $10.00). Deals with the final months of Arthur's governorship, the organizing of the Province of Canada, Arthur's departure for Britain in March 1841, and his subsequent correspondence on Canadian questions. Owing to the untimely death of Dr. Sanderson this volume was edited by Miss Edith Firth. The detailed, thorough Index covering all three volumes is the work of Miss L. E. Loeber and makes the entire collection extremely valuable for scholarly researches into many aspects of this crucial era of Upper Canada history.

Scott, Lloyd M. "The English Gentlefolk in the Backwoods of Canada" (*Dalhousie Review,* XXXIX (1), Spring 1959, 56-69). The lives and attitudes of the post-1815 gentleman immigrants to Upper Canada, as exemplified by the writings of Susanna Moodie, Catharine Traill, John Howison, Anna Jameson, etc.

Sissons, C. B. *Church and State in Canadian Education: An Historical Study.* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1959. Pp. x, 414, illus. $6.50). A province-by-province study, commencing with Ontario (pages 1-126) and mainly emphasizing the struggles of the period 1841-67 when Protestant dissenters won a state-controlled system of public schools and the Roman Catholic minority the right of separate schools, and the present-day educational system of Ontario was shaped under the superintendance of Dr. Egerton Ryerson. Issues of later years—the French-language schools, the extension of the separate schools system to secondary education, the sharing of corporation taxes for the support of education, the role of state-aid for universities—are also examined.

Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario. *Documents Historiques, No. 36.* (Sudbury: La Société, Université de Sudbury. 1959. Pp. 48.) This "Index Analytique des 35 Documents de la Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario" compiled by Rev. Germain Lemieux, S.J., was made possible by a grant of the Canada Council in 1958.

Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario. *Documents Historiques, No. 37.* (Sudbury: La Société, Université de Sudbury. 1959. Pp. 48, illus.) "Au Royaume de Nanabozho", by Rev. Lorenzo Cadieux, S.J., describes the work of Rev. Joseph-Marie Couture, S.J., among the Ojibways of a 74,437 square-mile sector of northwestern Ontario, noting particularly the changes in Indian customs and missionary methods in the years after 1920.

Southampton Centennial Committee. *Southampton Centennial, 1858-1958: Stories of the Past.* (Southampton: The Committee. no date. Pp. 28, illus.). A history of the district from aboriginal times to the present, also of the community and its various institutions.

Stratford, Philip. "Stratford After Six years: A Miracle Reconsidered" (*Queen's Quarterly,* LXVI (1), Spring 1959, 2-17). The achievements of the Stratford Shakespearian festivals reviewed and evaluated.

Sylvain, Robert. "Séjour Mouvementé d'un Revolutionnaire Italien à Toronto et à Quebec" (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française,* XIII (2), Septembre 1959, 183-229). In 1855 Alessandro Gavazzi, a former monk, visited and lectured with great popular acclaim in Toronto, but when he proceeded to Canada East his anti-Papal lectures caused violent riots in Quebec City.

Taylor, Thomas Griffith. *Journeyman Taylor: The Education of a Scientist.* (London, England: R. Hale. 1958. Pp. 352, illus. 25/-). The autobiography (principally the travels) of Griffith Taylor, the noted English-born, Australian-educated geographer who organized the Department of Geography at the University of Toronto in 1935 and served as its chairman until his retirement at the end of 1950.

Thomas, W. K. "Canadian Political Oratory in the Nineteenth Century: I" (*Dalhousie Review,* XXXIX (1), Spring 1959, 19-30). A study of the literary qualities of speeches by Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Edward Blake, both of whom the author considers overrated as orators.

Toye, William. *The St. Lawrence.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. 296, illus. $4.50). The river and its dramatic past—explorers, fur traders and soldiers of France, wars and rebellions, immigration

and the lumber trade, nineteenth-century bridges and canals, the modern power and seaway project.

Trinier, Harold U. *A Century of Service: A History of the* Canadian Baptist. (Toronto: Board of Publication, Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 190 St. George Street. 1959. Pp. x, 150, illus. $2.00). The *Christian Messenger* began publication in 1854 in Brantford to work for the interests of the Baptists of Canada West. Five years later the offices were transferred to Toronto and in 1860 the name was changed to *The Canadian Baptist.* Today it is the official news publication of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec and of the Baptist Union of Western Canada.

Watters, Reginald Eyre. *A Check List of Canadian Literature and Background Materials, 1628-1950.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, for the Humanities Research Council of Canada. 1959. Pp. xx, 789. $15.00).

Western Ontario Historical Notes, XV (3), September 1959. Includes "Extract from a Letter of John Robertson to his Father, Golford, Scotland, 21 April 1834" (p. 1-3); "A Journey from Hamilton to Brantford—Extracts from Mr. Mackintosh's Journal, 1835" (p. 3-6); "Hellmuth Ladies' College, London, a Sketch from *The Hellmuth World,* 28 February 1881" (p. 7-10); see also under Bishop, Olga—above.

Willson, Richard Eugene. *The Willson Family, 1672-1959.* (Kent, Ontario: The Author, 539 Lake Street. Pp. vii, 324, illus. Mimeo. $15.00). A record of the descendants of Robert and Ann Willson of Scarborough, Yorkshire, Quakers, who emigrated to New Jersey in 1682. Among the first members of the family to settle in Upper Canada were the brothers Daniel and Jesse Willson who came to Pelham Township, Welland County, shortly after 1801.

Wood, J. David. "The Arks of Absalom Shade" (*Inland Seas,* XV (3), Fall 1959, 180-85). Shade, a Pennsylvania-born miller, storekeeper and carpenter, attempted in 1831, 1832 and 1833 to ship produce from the Galt district to Lake Ontario in shallow-draft barges which descended the Grand River on the spring freshets to Dunnville, whence they could utilize a feeder of the Welland Canal. Despite difficulties the first two trips reached Lake Ontario safely, but damage to the cargo on the third trip caused Shade to abandon the project.

York Pioneer and Historical Society. *The York Pioneer* (Toronto: The Society, c/o 27 Surrey Place. 1959. Pp. 44, illus.). Contains the following articles: "It's Still the Rouge", by Rev. W. A. Russell (p. 1-4); "Alexander Wood, Merchant of York", by Edith G. Firth (p. 5-29); "John Paul of Weston", by Jean McFall (p. 29-31); also the reports for 1958 of the Society's operations and activities.

Young, Scott. "The Northland's Bunkhouse Professors" (*Imperial Oil Review,* XLIII (2), April 1959, 14-18). Frontier College was established by Alfred Fitzpatrick at the turn of the century to educate workmen in Canada's isolated northern camps. Most of the present-day instructors are university students on summer vacation who are regularly employed at the mines, etc., and teach in their off-work hours.

The Editor wishes to thank the following for supplying certain of the publications noted in the preceding section or otherwise bringing them to his attention: Toronto Reference Library, University of Toronto Library, Ontario Archives, Macmillan Company of Canada, Ryerson Press, University of Toronto Press, Harold U. Trinier, Richard E. Willson and Mrs. C. R. Lewis.

FUNCTIONS AND OPERATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF TRAVEL AND PUBLICITY

By D. F. McOuat

In 1953 much concern was manifested in Ontario over the problem of protecting important archaeological sites. The evaluation of such locations requires a thorough and painstaking examination by qualified archaeologists. Unfortunately, once such a site has been discovered, or its significance emphasized by a visit from a professional archaeologist, the amateur pot-hunter frequently appears on the scene. Artifacts have a commercial value and are assiduously sought by collectors. The damage done by these unqualified persons does not lie so much in the fact that they remove artifacts as that they destroy the arrangement of the site and the relation of one object to another. This makes later interpretation by properly qualified archaeologists very difficult.

The immediate cause for apprehension in 1953 was the extremely important site at Sheguiandah on Manitoulin Island. This pre-contact Indian quarry was of unusual antiquity and, according to some estimates, might date back 40,000 years or more. Mr. Thomas Lee of the National Museum in Ottawa had done important work there, but it was already being disturbed by unauthorized persons.

As a consequence, the Ontario legislature in 1953 passed the Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act which empowered the minister of the relevant department to "designate" any specified parcel of land as an archaeological or historic site. Such designation, in effect, would freeze the property so that no unauthorized person could excavate there or remove objects therefrom without the specific permission of the minister. Several important sites have been placed under the protection of this Act. They include archaeological sites such as Sheguiandah and the Stoney Lake Petroglyphs, and historic sites such as the Willow Fort in Vespra Township, which was the western terminus of the Nine Mile Portage, and the Penetanguishene Military and Naval Establishments.

To advise the minister regarding the selection of such sites, a seven member Board (increased to nine in 1956) was established. The members include some of the province's most distinguished historians and archaeologists, as well as other persons noted for their efforts to promote an interest in the history of Ontario. They are all private citizens, but a civil servant was appointed as permanent secretary of the Board.

In 1956 the Board was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Department of Education to the Department of Travel and Publicity and an additional function was allocated to it. This consisted of the commemoration of important persons, events, sites and structures throughout Ontario by means of historical plaques.

This function involves a great deal of painstaking research. While the general history of the province is well known, the minutiae connected with the background of a particular historic building, the exact date when the first settlers arrived in a community, the connection of an historic figure with a certain district, and so on are frequently difficult to determine. Local tradition and secondary published sources are unreliable. Therefore, time-consuming research must be undertaken in archives, registry offices, early newspapers and family papers.

Once an inscription has been approved by the Board and the plaque is manufactured, arrangements are made to hold an official unveiling ceremony. It is the policy of the department that these ceremonies should be sponsored by some local organization. These have included historical societies, chambers of commerce, Women's Institutes, service clubs and municipalities. By encouraging local participation, it is felt that the citizens of a community will be stimulated to take an interest in and to exploit their own historical resources.

The inscription on each plaque is limited to about one hundred words and cannot give a complete picture of the event or site it commemorates. However, in the course of preparing it, the Historical Branch consults the local historical societies and encourages them to do further research. Moreover, the mere presence of a permanent plaque is a constant reminder to the passer-by that events of importance occurred there and it ensures that that incident in our historic past will not be forgotten. The plaques serve a double purpose—they encourage our own citizens to study their local history and they are a proven attraction to tourists. In the latter connection, and judging purely from a material point of view, it should be remembered that in some of the States to the south history is, in fact, the largest single tourist attraction.

At each official unveiling ceremony a member of the Board traces the historical background of the site or person commemorated, and members of the provincial cabinet or other prominent citizens frequently attend. The Historical Branch compiles a large number of press releases annually covering the fifty to sixty unveilings. Coverage from newspapers, radio and television is excellent. The public response to the programme, judged by letters, telephone calls and personal comments directed to this department, has been most encouraging.

The subjects selected for commemoration vary widely and the Board does not confine its recommendations to such orthodox features as battles or prominent politicians. Anything that has contributed toward our present social, political, legal, constitutional or economic status is given consideration. Only if a site or event is of purely local interest or unusually repetitive in theme is it discarded. The number of plaques that can be prepared and erected in one year is, of course, limited, but ultimately all sites of importance in the province will be marked.

More than 170 plaques have been erected to date. They commemorate: early military establishments such as Fort Rouillé in Toronto; fur

trading posts such as Frederick House near Timmins; churches such as St. Paul's Chapel of the Mohawks in Brantford; pioneer mills such as the Backus Mill near Port Rowan; politicians such as the Hon. G. Howard Ferguson in Kemptville; painters such as Paul Kane in Toronto; authors such as William Kirby at Niagara-on-the-Lake; explorers such as David Thompson in Williamstown; heroes such as La Salle at Kingston—and villains such as "Pirate" Bill Johnston at Gananoque.

By the end of 1957 the volume of work carried by the Board had become so heavy it could no longer be adequately performed by a voluntary organization and the following year an Historical Branch was established under the Department of Travel and Publicity. The Archaeological and Historic Sites Board continues to assist in an advisory capacity and the director of the Branch acts as secretary of the Board. The development of the department's historical programme is certainly very largely due to the interest and energy of the Board under the leadership of its very capable chairman, Mr. W. H. Cranston of Midland.

Following the establishment of the Branch, further duties were placed under its jurisdiction. One of these includes the responsibility for compiling those departmental publications which deal exclusively with history. At present these include the folder "Ontario History" which is revised annually. It lists briefly the province's more important historic sites and its museums. The second is the brochure "Historic Ontario—Old Upper Canada". This is a more elaborate and profusely illustrated publication. A revised edition numbering 60 pages has recently been completed. It divides the province into a number of main historic areas and, after giving a brief historical introduction to each, describes the more important individual sites. Considerable interest has been shown in this publication. One unusual aspect is that, in addition to applications from tourists, there has been a large number of requests for copies from the province's school teachers.

Another function allocated to the Historical Branch is the administration of grants in aid made to municipally owned historical museums. Providing that a museum is owned and operated by a municipality and that body makes an annual grant to its museum committee for maintenance, the government will match this expenditure up to a certain maximum sum. It will also assist in paying the salary of the museum's curator.

This year the Branch added a museums' advisor to its staff. He will be available to assist local museums with such problems as the selection, preservation and display of their collections. It is believed that this appointment fills a long-felt need since most local museums function through voluntary effort and on extremely limited budgets. On the other hand a well organized local museum possesses a very considerable potential as a tourist attraction and, in addition, is an asset to its community from an educational standpoint.

The Historical Branch administers an annual grant to the Ontario Historical Society. This is used to assist in the publication of the Society's valuable and scholarly quarterly "Ontario History", as well as to help in the operation of the annual Museums' Workshop for the training of curators.

In the course of its research undertaken to determine whether a site is worth marking or designating, the Branch has employed professional archaeologists to examine or excavate the location. For example, a search was made for the presumed site of the French Fort St. Pierre at Pither's Point near Fort Frances, and for the presumed site of Frederick House near Timmins. During the present summer an extensive exploration has been carried on in Tay Township in an attempt to discover such sites as Touanché and Ihonitaria which played an important role during the seventeenth century French occupation and are mentioned in the Jesuit Relations.

A large and increasing volume of inquiries from other departments of government and the general public are answered by the Historical Branch. Finally, it should be mentioned that the members of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board have frequently taken time off from their own positions to attend meetings and speak to various organizations in an effort to stimulate an interest in Ontario's history.

The historical plaques erected throughout this province during 1959 by the Department of Travel and Publicity acting on the advice of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario are listed below. The brief remarks appended to each are not, of course, copies of the actual inscriptions. Plaques erected in previous years are listed in the following issues of this periodical: Vol. XLIX, Nos. 1, 2 and 4, and Vol. L, No. 4.

Colonel John Prince 1796-1870

Prince commanded the local militia in the Windsor area during the rebellion of 1837-38 and his summary execution of several Americans sympathizing with William Lyon Mackenzie, who had invaded Upper Canada, precipitated an international crisis. Prince later became the first judge of the Algoma District. (Bellevue Park, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario).

The Chicora Incident 1870

Describes the crisis which occurred when the United States refused to allow Colonel Garnet Wolseley's Red River expedition to pass through the locks at Sault Ste. Marie. (Near Canadian locks, Sault Ste. Marie).

Superior's First Shipyard

Commemorates the site where Louis Denis, Sieur de la Ronde, in 1735 launched the first ship to sail Lake Superior. This site was later used for the same purpose by the famous fur trader Alexander Henry. (Pointe aux Pins west of Sault Ste. Marie).

Adelaide Hunter Hoodless 1858-1910

Commemorates the founder of the Women's Institute of Canada. (About one mile west of St. George on concession road leading off Highway No. 24).

King Capron 1796-1872

Commemorates the founder of Paris, Ontario. (Grounds of his former home on Homestead Avenue, Paris).

Paris Plains Church 1845

Marks an early church of unusual cobblestone construction. (Three miles north of Paris and east of Highway No. 24A).

Battle of Malcolm's Mills 1814

Marks the site of a clash on November 6, 1814 between a force of Canadian militia and an invading American army lead by Brigadier-General Duncan McArthur. (Community Park, Oakland).

Frederick House 1785

Marks the site of an early Hudson s Bay Post founded by Philip Turnor, a prominent figure in the history of that company. (Near Barber's Bay on Highway No. 67 east of Timmins).

St. Thomas Church 1824

Commemorates one of the earliest churches in the Talbot Settlement. Constructed on land donated by Captain Daniel Rapelje, the founder of the community. (Grounds of St. Thomas Anglican Church, St. Thomas).

Captain Daniel Rapelje 1774-1828

Commemorates the founder of St. Thomas. (City Hall, St. Thomas).

Capture of the Anne 1838

Commemorates the grounding and capture of the rebel schooner "Anne" which had been bombarding the Canadian shore in the vicinity of Amherstburg. Her crew was taken prisoner by Canadian militia. (At Elliott's Point on Highway No. 18 just south of Amherstburg).

Colonel Matthew Elliott 1739-1814

Commemorates one of the prominent Loyalists who settled in what is now Essex County after the American Revolution. Much of his career was spent in the Indian Department where he played an important role in the difficult negotiations with the Indian tribes of that period. (On site of his former home at Elliott's Point south of Amherstburg).

Fighting Island 1838

Commemorates a skirmish which took place on February 25, 1838 between a force of rebel sympathizers led by "General" Donald McLeod and a detachment of British and Canadian troops. The "Patriots" had crossed from the American side of the Detroit River and occupied Fighting Island. (Youth Centre Park, La Salle).

Christ Church 1819

Marks one of the province's oldest Anglican churches which originally served the British garrison at Fort Malden as well as the local settlers. (Grounds of Christ Church, Amherstburg).

Rev. Charles W. Gordon 1860-1937

Commemorates one of Canada's most successful novelists who wrote under the pen name of Ralph Connor. (Grounds of Presbyterian Church, St. Elmo).

The Garafraxa Road

Commemorates the pioneer "colonization road" which opened up Grey County. (Off Highway No. 6 north of Durham at crossing of Rocky Saugeen River).

Thomas William Holmes, V.C., 1898-1950

Honours a valiant soldier who was awarded the Victoria Cross during the First World War. (Queen's Park, Owen Sound).

William Avery Bishop, V.C. 1894-1956

Honours Canada's leading fighter pilot of the First World War who was awarded the Victoria Cross and many other decorations for his gallantry. (Queen's Park, Owen Sound).

"Tommy Burns" 1881-1955

Commemorates Noah Brusso, the first Canadian to hold the heavyweight boxing championship of the world. (At southern approach to Town of Hanover).

Captain John Walden Meyers 1745-1821

Commemorates the Loyalist veteran of the Revolutionary War who founded Belleville. (Victoria Park, Belleville).

International Boundary

Gives history of the delineation of the international boundary between Canada and the United States. (Grounds of Canadian Oil Company between Sarnia and Corunna beside Highway No. 40).

Daniel Fowler 1810-1894

Honours a prominent early Canadian painter. (Grounds of his former residence near Emerald, Amherst Island).

Bath Academy 1811

Commemorates one of the province's earliest and most successful publicly owned schools. (Grounds of public school, Bath).

The Hawley House

Marks one of the oldest remaining houses in the province, erected by Jeptha Hawley, U.E.L., in the 1780's. (Grounds of Hawley House, Bath).

Loyalist Landing Place 1784

Marks the site where the first United Empire Loyalists who settled in Adolphustown Township landed on June 16, 1784. (United Empire Loyalist Memorial Park, Adolphustown).

Joel Stone 1749-1833

Commemorates the Loyalist who founded Gananoque. (In front of the Town Hall, Gananoque).

Raid on Gananoque 1812

Describes the raid on Gananoque made by a force of United States regulars and militia commanded by Captain Benjamin Forsyth on September 21, 1812. (Grounds of Gananoque Power Company, Gananoque).

Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe 1763-1851

Honours the soldier who, following the death of Isaac Brock, took command of the British and Canadian forces and won the Battle of Queenston Heights on October 13, 1812. (Beside Brock Monument, Queenston Heights).

St. Andrew's Anglican Church

Marks one of the province's most attractive early nineteenth-century churches and tells the story of its congregation dating back to the founding of Grimsby. (Grounds of St. Andrew's Church, Grimsby).

Colonel Robert Nelles 1761-1842

Commemorates a Loyalist who was one of Grimsby's first settlers, and who became one of Lincoln County's outstanding soldiers and legislators. This plaque also marks "The Manor", completed in 1798, one of the province's few remaining eighteenth-century buildings. (Grounds of "The Manor", Grimsby).

Hudson's Bay Post 1856

Tells the story of the Hudson's Bay Company's unsuccessful attempt to establish a post on Manitoulin Island. (Grounds of R. H. Ripley House, Little Current).

The Tolpuddle Martyrs

Tells the story of the persecution of a group of nineteenth-century agricultural labourers who attempted to establish a union in England. They were transported to Australia and after their return, several settled in Upper Canada. (Siloam Cemetery, 5th Concession Road, London Township).

Victoria Boat Disaster 1881

Commemorates the tragic sinking of an excursion steamer on the Thames near London with heavy loss of life. (Riverside Park, London).

Jean Nicolet

Honours one of the earliest explorers of the French regime in Canada. For at least eight years, commencing in 1620, he lived with the native tribes in the Lake Nipissing area. He is generally credited with the discovery of Lake Michigan in 1634. (Lee Park, North Bay).

Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Ryerse 1752-1812

Commemorates the Loyalist who founded Port Ryerse. (Anglican Memorial Church, Port Ryerse).

District Capital 1815-1825

Commemorates the period during which Vittoria was the administrative and judicial headquarters of the old London District. (Grounds of Christ Church, Vittoria).

Loss of the Speedy

Commemorates the tragic sinking of the schooner "Speedy" which foundered off Presqu'Ile Point, Lake Ontario, in October 1804. On board were some of Upper Canada's leading citizens on their way to attend a murder trial at the "capital" of the Newcastle District which was then situated at Presqu'Ile Point. (Grounds of Museum in Presqu'Ile Provincial Park).

Captain Andrew Drew, R.N. 1792-1878

Commemorates the doughty naval officer who helped to found Woodstock, and during the Rebellion of 1837-38 led the raiders who destroyed the American steamer "Caroline" which had been supplying William Lyon Mackenzie's forces on Navy Island in the Niagara River. (Grounds of his former residence on Rathbourne Street, Woodstock).

St. John's Church 1834

Commemorates Peterborough County's oldest church, built 1834-36, whose congregation was formed in 1826 shortly after the founding of the community. (Grounds of St. John's Anglican Church, Peterborough).

The White Chapel 1809

Also known as the "Old" or "Conger" Chapel. This is Prince Edward County's oldest religious edifice and has been maintained continuously as a place of worship for a longer period than any other church of Methodist origin in the province. Its interior arrangement and furnishings have been preserved much as they were in the early nineteenth century. (Highway No. 41, three miles north of Picton).

The Opeongo Road

Commemorates one of the province's most important "colonization roads" which was instrumental in opening up Renfrew County. (Opeongo Trail Street, Town of Renfrew).

Chief William Yellowhead

Commemorates the famous Mississauga chief who fought on the British side during the War of 1812. With members of his tribe he settled on the site of Orillia in 1830, but the pressure of white settlement in the area resulted in their transfer to Rama in 1838-39. (Couchiching Beach Park, Orillia).

Captain Samuel Anderson 1736-1836

Commemorates a Loyalist veteran of the Seven Years War and the American Revolution who was one of the first settlers on the site of Cornwall. (Grounds of Glen - Stor - Dun Lodge, Cornwall).

Discovery of the Sudbury Basin

Commemorates Tom Flanagan's discovery of copper-nickel sulphides on the C.P.R. right of way in 1883 which inaugurated the development of the rich mineral deposits of the Sudbury Basin . (Highway No. 544 near Murray Mine).

"Grey Owl" 1888-1938

Commemorates the famous author and conservationist, Archibald Belaney. (Finlayson Point Provincial Camping Grounds, Timagami).

Simon James Dawson 1820-1902

Commemorates the well-known surveyor and legislator who did much to open up the region between the Canadian Lakehead and what is now the Province of Manitoba. (Hillcrest Park, Port Arthur).

William McGillivray 1764-1825

Commemorates one of the principal directors of the colourful Northwest fur trading company. Fort William was named in his honour in 1807. (Vickers Park, Fort William).

Mackenzie's Crossing Place

Marks the site where William Lyon Mackenzie fled across the Niagara River to safety in the United States after his defeat at Montgomery's Tavern in December 1837. (Corner of the Niagara Parks Blvd. and Thompson Road near Fort Erie).

Co-operative Union of Canada

Commemorates the founding of this national association in Hamilton in March, 1909. (Gore Park, Hamilton).

The La Guayra Settlers

Tells the story of a group of Scottish emigrants, who after an unsuccessful attempt to settle in South America were placed on the Canada Company's Huron Tract through the efforts of John Galt. (Royal City Park, Guelph).

Founders of Galt

Commemorates the Honourable William Dickson and Absalom Shade who founded Galt. (High Park, Galt).

John Langton 1808-1894

Commemorates one of the Otonabee region's pioneer settlers. His published correspondence furnishes an invaluable record of the early life of the district. He later became auditor general of Canada and vice-chancellor of the University of Toronto. (Horticultural Society Gardens, Fenelon Falls).

Colonel James Wallis 1806-1893

Commemorates the principal founder of Fenelon Falls and marks his former residence, Maryboro Lodge. (Grounds of Maryboro Lodge, Fenelon Falls).

Eildon Hall

Marks one of the Lake Simcoe region's oldest remaining buildings and commemorates the Sibbald family who played a prominent role in the early life of the district. (Sibbald's Point Provincial Park).

St. Lawrence Hall 1850

Marks one of Toronto's oldest remaining public buildings where for many years the great public events of the period were held. (King Street East, Toronto).

LOUIS BLAKE DUFF, 1878-1959

For the second time this year and in successive issues of *Ontario History* we have had to report the death of an esteemed and valued Past President of the Ontario Historical Society. In the summer issue tribute was paid to the late Dr. George Fortune Macdonald, of Windsor, whose death took place on August 12th. Dr. Louis Blake Duff, of Welland, died on August 29th. Both men had passed their 81st birthday and had been active until a few months before their deaths. Each had made a substantial contribution to the history of this province and had stimulated others to like endeavour.

Louis Blake Duff was born on a farm at Bluevale, a small community in Huron County, on January 1st, 1878. He received his early education in the schools of that county and began his active career, as did so many young men of his time, by teaching school. But he soon became interested in the possibilities of newspaper work and it was as a working newspaperman that he found his real place in life and perhaps attained his greatest satisfaction. He began as a reporter on the Wingham *Times* and then went on to the Stratford *Beacon* and the Galt *Reporter,* at that time under the editorship of the late J. P. Jaffray from whom Duff learned practical journalism.

In 1904 he was invited to become editor of the Welland *Telegraph*, then conducted by Frank Sears. Within a few months he became a partner with Sears and later obtained full possession of the paper. For more than a score of years he had the privilege of editing his own newspaper and expressing his own opinions on men and events. The *Telegraph*, under his direction, became a power in the Niagara area. In 1926 he sold his ownership of the paper and found himself, to use his own phrase, "unemployed for the first time in half a century". But not for long, for he promptly organized a finance company which he also eventually sold.

Quite apart, however, from newspaper or business activities, Louis Blake Duff lived a rich fruitful life. He was a lover of books, not only to read but to gather about him for their beauty and interest. His private library of many thousand volumes was both carefully selected and tastefully housed. When more leisure came with the years he added a wing to his home and there his treasures were cared for as befitted their value and beauty. A stairway entering this book room had a carved balustrade copied from one in the famous Plantin Museum of Printing in Antwerp which he had once visited when in Europe. On this visit he had composed a little poem of praise for printing which he was permitted to set in type from the Plantin fonts and to pull some proofs of his composition with the Plantin rolls. Probably no other previous visitor had ever asked or been given permission to pay such tribute to this historic printing office.

About the walls of the Duff library glass-fronted cases contained hundreds of treasured volumes while here and there were hung framed specimens of early printing—a page of Gothic text from the rare Gutenberg Bible; a page printed at the press of William Caxton, Chaucer's printer; an ancient vellum leaf of music done by some mediaeval monk's hand for the monastery choir. The shelves contained valuable collections on the history of printing and on the origin of place names, two fields of special interest to their owner. These will probably find a home in some large Canadian library.

In addition to collecting and owning books Dr. Duff delighted to design and print books to distribute to his friends—"Crowland", for example, a description of the overseas Crowland Abbey and of the Ontario township bearing the same name; Hon. Arthur Meighen's remarkable address, "The Greatest Englishman in History", for which Sir Robert Falconer wrote a preface and Dr. Duff provided a biographical sketch; "Jane Susan Duff; Her Book", an amusing melange of poetry and prose addressed to his first grand-daughter. Yearly at Christmas time, his friends received greeting cards that had a personality and charm that ensured their preservation as a remembrance of the giver.

Dr. Duff was a writer of style and distinction and had made contributions to historical, literary and other journals. He wrote several important articles for the *Colophon of New York*, dealing with the Jesuit Relations, the life of Sebastian Cramoisy, the printer of the Relations, and the career of the English poet, W. H. Davies, of whose writings he was a great admirer. He was one of the founders and a Past President of the Bibliographical Society of Canada. He had been an active member of the Ontario Historical Society, regular in his attendance at its meetings, was for many years a member of its Executive Committee and served as President of the Society from 1928 to 1930. In his home town, Welland, he was a life member of the Canadian Red Cross and a past president of the local branch. He was active also in the Children's Aid Society, the Welland County Historical Society, the Board of Trade and the Y.M.C.A. As a speaker he was known in every part of Canada and was frequently invited to appear before audiences in the United States. His wit and humour made him long remembered by audiences before whom he appeared. He was honoured in 1952 by the University of Western Ontario which conferred upon him the honourary degree of Doctor of Laws. In the citation read on that occasion by President G. E. Hall he was described as "composite man . . . a true scholar, an eminent historian, a dignified compatriot and a solid citizen of this country". His admission to the University Dr. Duff regarded as the greatest honour that had come to him in life and the hood which he received at the Convocation hung thereafter in a little wall case in his library. The president's citation and his own address in reply he later printed in handsome form for his friends, giving it the title "A Study in Vanity".

One of the characteristics of the man which will be long remembered was his readiness ever to pay tribute to the good work of others in whatever field that work might lie. This he often expressed in a personal letter of praise and encouragement. Two such letters were received by the editor of *Ontario History* during recent months, expressing his pleasure and satisfaction with the contents of the Society's journal. Such praise, wherever given, could not but be regarded as of the highest value because it came from a man who was himself deserving of praise.

—*Fred Landon.*

FREDERICK S. CHALLENER

Mr. Challener, noted Canadian historical painter and a member of the Ontario Historical Society in recent years, died on September 30 last at the age of 90. He displayed artistic talent from an early age and friends made it possible for him to receive formal instruction at the Ontario College of Art. In 1890 he was appointed an associate of the Royal Canadian Academy and for his work he received bronze medals at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo (1901) and at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (1904). His canvas "The Departing Convoy, First Contingent, C.E.F., from Gaspé, 1914" was painted for the Canadian War Memorials Commission. He will undoubtedly be remembered, however, for his many murals, principally on historical subjects and often in collaboration with the late Charles W. Jeffreys. His murals include the copy of Robert Harris's "The Fathers of Confederation" in the Provincial Parliament Buildings, Toronto; "Trading at Fort Rouillé, 1749" in the King Edward Hotel, Toronto; and the panels in the Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, depicting the building of the Rideau Canal. When past his 85th year he completed for the Ontario Government paintings based on two drawings by Jeffreys—"Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe Opening the First Parliament of Upper Canada, 1792", and "Etienne Brulé at the Humber River in 1615".

News of local historical activities is greatly appreciated and will be published in *Ontario History* as far as space permits.

DR. MILO M. QUAIFE

Members of the Ontario Historical Society, particularly those resident in Southwestern Ontario, will learn with deep regret of the death in early September, in a motor accident, of Dr. Milo M. Quaife, leading authority on the history of Michigan and the Old Northwest. He was 79 years of age and had had frequent contacts with historians and historical organizations in this province. He was superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society for some years and was secretary-editor of the Burton Collections of the Detroit Public Library from 1924 to 1947. He was a lecturer at both Wayne State University and the University of Detroit and had written or edited more than 100 volumes, including 37 volumes of the valuable Lakeside Classics. He was one of the founders and an active member of the Algonquin Club, of Windsor, an organization of workers in history in the Detroit River region.

—Fred Landon.

TO OUR READERS

With this number another volume of *Ontario History*, the fifty-first, is completed. We take this opportunity to thank our contributors for furnishing enough worth-while material to make the present volume the largest in 25 years. Their work affords concrete evidence that the study of the history of Ontario is being continued and enlarged and that new eyes are searching the pathways of the past. The increased grant by the Province to the Society made it possible to enlarge the size of our issues and to increase the number of illustrations in keeping with the quantity of material that came to hand.

Unfortunately the number of subscribers to *Ontario History*—that is, the membership of the Ontario Historical Society—has not risen proportionately but continues at the level attained in 1958. As the pages of each issue of *Ontario History* show, time removes many worthy and valued members, impoverishing all of us and also the cause of historical study in Ontario. If we are to maintain our position as a society and inspire others to assist our endeavours, we must give tangible proof of vitality by increasing our own membership.

We urge everyone to renew their membership for 1960 without delay and also to enrol as many new members as they possibly can. The Secretary would be pleased to receive the names of persons interested in the history of Ontario to whom publicity material might be directed. Membership renewals and the names of suggested prospective members should be sent to Miss Edna Ash, Secretary-Treasurer, Ontario Historical Society, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

We take this opportunity to extend best wishes and season's greetings to our readers.

THE EDITOR.

ONTARIO HISTORY

PAPERS & RECORDS

VOLUME LI

1959

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Ontario Historical Society was organized on September 4, 1888 under the title of 'The Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario' and adopted its present name in 1898. Its object is to develop the study of history, particularly that of Ontario.

Beginning in 1899 a volume of *Papers & Records* has been published nearly every year. These volumes, I to XXXIX, contain a vast amount of information about the history of the Province. Several volumes now are out of print, but the rest are available at $4 per cloth-bound volume and $2 for those with paper covers. In 1947 the name of the publication was changed to *Ontario History* and since the beginning of 1949 it has appeared in quarterly form. *Ontario History* is sent free to all members, and issues of previous years are available at $1 per number or $3 per volume of four issues. Several special volumes of documentary material also are available, including the first three volumes of the Ontario Local Histories Series, "The Valley of the Trent" by E. C. Guillet; "Royal Fort Frontenac" by R. A. Preston and L. Lamontagne; and "Kingston Before the War of 1812" by R. A. Preston—each $3.50 to members.

General meetings of the Society have been held annually in various centres in the province. These meetings have enabled members to meet with others who are particularly interested in local and provincial history, and to visit many of the historic spots in Ontario.

The several classes of membership are: corporate, $3 a year, sustaining $10 a year, family $5, and annual, $3. Life memberships are $50. Membership is open to all societies and individuals interested in the history of Ontario. Fees should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

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